The Lhotshampa in Tasmania: An exploration of the challenges of resettlement and acculturation

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Abstract

This thesis aims to add to existing knowledge in the area of refugee resettlement by exploring integrative and acculturative processes among the Lhotshampa refugee community in Tasmania.

This thesis examines the challenges that Lhotshampa refugees face when resettling in Tasmania, by focussing on two areas of inquiry. The first area revolves around the practical, integrative issues that the Lhotshampa experience in rebuilding their lives, such as finding employment or housing and learning English. The second part explores the acculturative changes that occur in the Lhotshampa community, due to living in a culturally diverse environment; this includes an analysis of the areas where cultural changes happen, and how they are negotiated. It also investigates how the Lhotshampa's history of dispersal impacts on their feelings of identity. The purpose of the study is to improve our understanding of the integrative and acculturative processes involved, raise awareness of the difficulties that refugees face when resettling in Tasmania, and provide suggestions for the improvement of current resettlement policies. It can thus aid policymakers in the development of resettlement policies and procedures, thus improving the resettlement process for future generations of refugees. The results will also deepen our understanding of acculturative processes of culturally diverse groups in Australia.

Ethnography was chosen as methodology for this study. The main methods to gather data were participant observation among the Lhotshampa community, semi-structured interviews with both Lhotshampa and Australian professionals working with refugees, a focus group with Lhotshampa women, and extensive literature and internet research. Fieldwork was conducted in the Lhotshampa refugee communities in Hobart and Launceston, Tasmania, during 2015-2016.

Regarding the practical challenges that occur during resettlement, several areas were identified that need addressing, mainly in the areas of English education, employment, aged care and interpreting services. It was found, however, that these areas affect mostly the Lhotshampa and might not be applicable to other refugee groups, partly because of Tasmania's current facilities, but also due to the Lhotshampa's history and sociocultural characteristics. This implies that policymakers and service providers need to be flexible when

developing resettlement policies, and to adjust their services with each new refugee group. A collaborative approach that takes the resettlement aims, needs and opinions of refugees into consideration is suggested. Regarding the acculturative processes that occur in the Lhotshampa community the results show that the Lhotshampa differ greatly in the way they negotiate cultural change or construct their identities, not only individually, but also when compared to other refugee groups. This means that, similar to the above, acculturative policies need to be developed in consultation with refugee groups in order to achieve the best possible outcome.

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List of abbreviations, acronyms and terms

ABA	Association of Bhutanese in Australia
ABS	Australian Bureau of Statistics
AI	Amnesty International
AMEP	Adult Migrant English Program
Bakhu	Traditional Bhutanese clothing
BNLA	"Building a New Life in Australia" – Study published by the National Centre of Longitudinal Data
BPP	Bhutanese People's Party
Brahmin(s)	Highest caste among the Hindu Lhotshampa
Chhetri(s)	Second highest caste among the Hindu Lhotshampa
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency of the USA
CSWE	Certificate in Spoken and Written English
Dalit(s)	The lowest Hindu caste in some areas of Nepal
Dashain	A harvest festival in honour of the Hindu goddess Durga, taking place from September to October each year
DHHS	Department of Health and Human Services
DIBP	Department of Immigration and Border Protection
Diwali	The Hindu Festival of Lights, celebrated in honour of the goddess Lakshmi in November each year

Driglam Namzha	Originally the name for the Bhutanese code of dress and etiquette; utilised as umbrella term for the assimilationist policies in Bhutan from 1980 onwards
Drukpa	Name for the Bhutanese population, excluding the Lhotshampa
Drukpa-Kagyu	Branch of the Kagyu School of Tibetan Buddhism
Druk yul	= Dzongkha: Land of the Dragon; the Bhutanese' name for Bhutan
DSS	Department of Social Services
Dzongkha	Bhutan's national language
ESL	English as a Second Language
FECCA	Federation of Ethnic Communities' Councils of Australia
GNH	Gross National Happiness
HSS	Humanitarian Settlement Services program
Humanitarian Entrants	DIBP's term for people who seek to migrate to Australia were forced to leave their homeland: asylum seekers, refugees, and applicants from the Special Humanitarian Program
ICT	Information and Communication Technology
IEC	Intensive English Centre
IOM	a, International Office of Migration; or b, International Organisation for Migration
JVC	Joint Verification Committee
Kira	Traditional Bhutanese dress for women

Kirtan sangh	Hindu devotional singing groups; a common practice among the Hindu Lhotshampa in Bhutan
Lhotshampa, *Lhotsampa*	= Dzongkha: Southerner(s); the name used by the Bhutanese Drukpa population to describe the Nepali-speaking Bhutanese in south Bhutan
LOTE	Language other than English
Mandal(s)	A term denoting the village heads in Bhutanese villages
MRC	Migrant Resource Centre
NAATI	National Accreditation Authority for Translators and Interpreters
NCLD	National Centre for Longitudinal Data
NES	Non-English Speaking
Ngalong	Ethnic group in west Bhutan, also used to describe Bhutan's ruling elite which mostly consists of ethnic Ngalong
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
Ngolops	= Dzongkha: Anti-Nationals; a term frequently used by the Bhutanese government to describe Lhotshampa "dissidents".
NRC	Norwegian Refugee Council
NVivo	Qualitative Data Analysis Software
OAU	Organisation of African Unity
OXFAM	Oxford Committee for Famine Relief
PFHR	People's Forum for Human Rights
Puja	Sanskrit pūjā 'worship'; also, an act of worship (Hinduism)

RCOA	Refugee Council of Australia
RCSC	Royal Civil Service Commission
SGP	Settlement Grants Period
Sharchop	Ethnic group in east Bhutan
SHP	Special Humanitarian Program
SPP	Special Preparatory Program
Sudra(s)	Lowest caste among the Hindu Lhotshampa
TIS	Translating and Interpreting Service
Tshogdu	Bhutan's Royal Advisory Council, founded in 1953
UN	United Nations
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNICEF	United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund
Vaishya(s)	Third highest caste among the Hindu Lhotshampa
YMEP	Youth Migrant English Program

List of maps, tables and appendices

Chapter 1 - Introduction

In this chapter I provide an overview of the organisation and content of the thesis. I commence by introducing the topic - the Lhotshampa's resettlement in Tasmania - with reference to current global events, and a brief summary of the Lhotshampa's history. This is followed by a description of the rationale or theoretical framework of this study, including my motivation to conduct this research, my main objectives and their justification, and my research questions designed to help achieve these objectives. The hypotheses that I aim to confirm in this thesis are described next. I outline the methodology only briefly, as I discuss this topic comprehensively in chapter five. In the definition of terms I deliver a short description of the key concepts and terms used to provide working definitions for the first part of the thesis before discussing them more thoroughly in chapter three. In the last section I provide a brief summary of the content of each chapter in this study.

Setting the Scene

At the end of 2015, UNHCR announced that the number of forcibly displaced people around the world had reached a record high of 65.3 million, including 21.3 million refugees and 3.2 million asylum seekers (UNHCR 2016a, 2). These numbers signify a global crisis that governments struggle to resolve. Thousands of people are on the move at any given time, fleeing persecution and war, and finding temporary shelter in makeshift refugee camps around the world. Finding viable solutions for these refugees is difficult. Some are able to return to their home countries, however the majority of refugees eventually find themselves in protracted refugee situations, living for decades in refugee camps. One way to resolve this situation is the resettlement of refugees to host countries, providing the people with the opportunity to build new lives in a safe environment. In 2015, some 107,100 refugees were resettled in third countries, both through UNHCR and through the initiatives of the host countries (ibid., 3). The resettlement of refugees to wealthy hosts relieves the financial burden of UNHCR, as the host countries take responsibility for the refugees and cover their costs. Most of today's nation-states have signed the UN convention (UNHCR 2015b, 1) relating to the status of refugees[1], however, the number of refugees that the participating members

[1] This convention from 1951 (and the later convention from 1967) describe what refugees are, and the rights and obligations of both refugees and their host countries.

are willing to accept varies significantly from nation-state to nation-state and from year to year. In 2015, the largest number of refugees (4.4 million) was sheltered by the Sub-Saharan African region, followed by Europe which was hosting – temporarily - just under 4.4 million (UNHCR 2016a, 14). These numbers put the host countries' governments under significant pressure. On the one hand governments have a responsibility to find durable solutions for the refugees, on the other hand accepting large numbers of culturally diverse people can lead to discontent among the host population, which could be observed in the rise of right-wing nationalist movements in some western countries like Germany and France in 2016. The host countries' citizens can feel ambivalent about sheltering refugees who often have a significantly different cultural background. The refugees, on the other hand, face a multitude of challenges in the attempt to create a new life for themselves and their children in the host societies.

In Australia this struggle also exists, although the circumstances are different. Asylum seekers are currently sent to offshore or onshore detention centres in places like Nauru and Christmas Island, where they await the outcome of their asylum applications. However, due to its remote location, Australia receives only a small percentage of the world's asylum seekers (0.24%). By contrast, Australia plays an important part as receiving country for the resettlement of refugees: in 2014 Australia accepted 6,162 refugees from UNHCR, the third highest number after the USA and Canada (Refugee Council of Australia 2016, 27). Overall Australia resettled 11,570 refugees in 2014, putting the nation-state in first place on a per capita basis (ibid., 25). Refugees are resettled across Australia, and they receive full access to services from the day of arrival.

The projected number of refugees in need of resettlement worldwide for 2017 was estimated at 1,190,000 people, a sharp increase of the 2014 projection of 691,000, and mostly due to the Syrian crisis. Despite the fact that resettlement states are increasing their annual intake of refugees, global resettlement needs continue to vastly outnumber available places (UNHCR 2016b, 13).

As refugee numbers are unlikely to recede in the coming years, it is crucial for the receiving nation-states to have policies in place that facilitate the resettlement of refugees in a way that is acceptable for both the refugees and the host population. Acculturation policies vary from nation-state to nation-state, impacting the host population's attitude towards refugees

and the acculturative outcomes for the newcomers. These policies also determine the quality and duration of available resettlement services. Accordingly, standards differ significantly between host countries.

This study revolves around the resettlement of Lhotshampa[2] refugees in Tasmania. The Lhotshampa are a cultural minority in Bhutan. Being descendants of Nepali farmers that migrated to southern Bhutan in the 19th and 20th century, this group remained relatively isolated from the majority Drukpa population until the 1950s. Speaking Nepali rather than Dzongkha, and following Hinduism rather than Buddhism, the Lhotshampa became the target of assimilationist policies under King Singye Dorji Wangchuck in the 1980s. When the Lhotshampa opposed assimilation and staged demonstrations in the late 1980s, the Bhutanese government forcibly expelled approximately 100,000 people from the kingdom. The fleeing Lhotshampa found shelter in seven refugee camps in southeast Nepal. Two years after the arrival of the first refugees, UNHCR and a range of other aid organisations took over the administration of the camps, providing basic necessities, education and healthcare for the refugees. For the next 17 years, bilateral talks between the Bhutanese and Nepali governments failed to find a viable solution for this refugee community, predominantly because they could not agree on the citizenship status of the people. Finally, in 2007, UNHCR negotiated the resettlement of the refugees to a range of host countries, including the USA, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Denmark, Norway, the Netherlands and the UK. At the end of 2015, 100,000 Bhutanese refugees had been resettled (UNHCR 2015a, 2).

Approximately 20 percent of the Lhotshampa who migrated to Australia were resettled in Tasmania, where they built two large communities in Launceston and Hobart. All Lhotshampa had been granted refugee status before their arrival, so they gained immediate access to all services and received permanent residency. The majority of Bhutanese arrived in Tasmania in the initial years of resettlement (2008-2010), however the migratory movement is not yet completed, with many of the established families now sponsoring missing family members to join them in their new home.

[2] Another common spelling for Lhotshampa is *Lhotsampa.*

Rationale

Motivation and choice of topic

My motivation to conduct this study arose from the wish to understand the underlying mechanisms that influence the resettlement and subsequent acculturation of refugees. This interest had developed slowly over the last ten years. I encountered my first refugees when studying cultural anthropology in Munich, Germany. Conducting research for my Master's thesis about Tibetan Tulkus, I met several Tibetan refugees, which sparked my interest in both Tibetan culture and the idea of dispersal and resettlement. This was further intensified by extensive travel in northern India where I encountered the settlements of the Tibetans that had fled in the aftermath of Mao's occupation of their homeland. I wondered what it must be like to resettle in heavily populated and busy countries like India, after having spent one's life in a remote village in Buddhist Tibet. Over the last few years the geopolitical situation that continues to uproot millions of people across the globe consolidated my interest in the area. I kept wondering how refugees feel when they try to make a new life in countries that are culturally very different, and whether they ever feel at home and 'normal' again. I also felt the responsibility to take action to help improve the refugees' situation. Finally, and not until I had already started this study did I become aware that my interest in this area was at least partly evoked by my own situation. I was born and grew up in Germany and moved to Australia in 2008, where I have lived ever since. Although it was arguably much easier for me to adjust to Australian society, as I spoke fluent English and moved from one Western society to the next, some of the issues that refugees experience during resettlement felt familiar to situations I had encountered. Interestingly I arrived in Hobart approximately at the same time as the first Lhotshampa, who would become the focus of my thesis some five years later.

I chose the Lhotshampa as the focus point of my study for a few reasons. First, as I mentioned earlier, I had specialised in the peoples and cultures of the Himalayan region throughout my Master's studies, so I felt that I had some of the pre-existing knowledge and fieldwork skills required to conduct this study. Second, a quick survey of existing articles showed that not much academic literature had been written on the topic, which justified my research; not only would I be able to study a group that had not been thoroughly researched before, I also hoped to be able to pinpoint the main challenges that the Lhotshampa experienced during resettlement and thus make suggestions on how to improve resettlement for refugees

overall. Third, the Lhotshampa were easily accessible, with the largest community in Tasmania living within proximity of my work place, and the 2nd largest only a 2 h drive away. Finally, I hoped that I would to some extent be able to get a thorough understanding of this community's resettlement process; the majority of Lhotshampa had arrived only seven years earlier, and newcomers were still trickling in during the period of my fieldwork, allowing me to observe firsthand different stages of the Lhotshampa's resettlement in Tasmania.

Methodology

The fieldwork for this study was conducted in 2015. I chose ethnography as methodology, and my methods consisted of several months of participant observation, semi-structured interviews and focus groups. The research participants were drawn from members of the two main Lhotshampa communities in Tasmania, Australian service provider employees, NGO representatives, volunteers and researchers with experience in refugee related areas. While it was originally planned to sample research participants from diverse demographic backgrounds this could only partly be achieved, due to ethical restrictions of the recruitment process. Interpreters were frequently consulted in both interviews and focus groups. The interpreters also helped to explain certain responses and behaviours. The interviews were transcribed verbatim and analysed with the help of the software program NVivo. A full ethics application was submitted to the Human Research Ethics Committee and was approved in December 2014 (H0014518). Fieldwork was concluded in March 2016. A comprehensive overview of the methodology is provided in chapter five.

Focus, objectives and research questions

In this study, I aim to add to existing knowledge in the areas of refugee resettlement and acculturation by exploring these processes among the community of Lhotshampa in Tasmania. In order to improve our understanding of resettlement and acculturative processes, the following objectives were established:

1. Review of existing resettlement procedures and available services for refugees in Tasmania with the aim to establish what works well and where improvement is needed. This review includes
    i. data gained from an extensive literature search focussing on resettlement in Australia and Tasmania;

ii. the results gained from consultations with Australian service providers, NGO representatives, and volunteers; and
iii. the results gained from consultation with the Lhotshampa community.

2. Exploration of the Lhotshampa's experiences in the areas of cultural and identity change. This includes an analysis of changes in lifestyle, religious affiliation and customs, social roles, family structure, cultural traditions and identity, and how these changes are spread among different demographic groups within the community.
3. Analysis of how acculturative processes in the Lhotshampa community are influenced by both the host society's particularities and the cultural and historical background of the refugee groups with the aim of revealing underlying structures and consistencies that could be applied to resettling refugee communities elsewhere.

The listed objectives serve two main purposes. First, they provide insight into existing flaws of Tasmanian resettlement services and facilities, allowing for the improvement of current policy. Second, they contribute to existing knowledge on resettlement and acculturative processes by showing how external influences given in the host society may impact on traditional customs of a refugee community, and what role the refugees play in the adaptation of these customs.

To achieve the above objectives, I designed the following research questions to guide my research:

1. What are the main challenges for Bhutanese refugees resettling in Tasmania, on the one hand in terms of services available in Tasmania, and on the other hand in terms of the community-internal struggles that are caused by resettlement? How could they be improved?
2. What acculturative changes occur in the Lhotshampa's social and cultural customs due to resettlement in Tasmania? How do they fit into current theories on patterns of acculturative negotiations?
3. How has living in refugee camps and migrating to Tasmania influenced feelings of identity among the Lhotshampa? How do the results fit into a larger framework of the concept of identity?

Hypotheses

The resettlement services provided by a host community impact directly on the cultural adjustment of refugees; however, while all refugees in a community receive the same services, individual outcomes vary significantly. The hypotheses I aim to confirm in this study are as follows:

- Resettlement outcomes are not only determined by existing policy, but are the result of a complex interplay between the host country's policy and services, the refugee community's situation preceding migration, the situation of the community in the host society and each refugee's individual background.
- There is no convenient one-type-fits-all definition for 'successful' resettlement. The factors by which governments measure successful integration can diverge significantly from the factors that refugees consider most important.

Significance

By achieving the above objectives, this study's significance lies in its contribution to the following areas:

Account of the Lhotshampa's history from 1850 until today

The existing academic literature on the Lhotshampa is still scarce. Most writings revolve around the history of the Lhotshampa in Bhutan and the events that led up to their dispersal, but stop after the Lhotshampa's arrival in the refugee camps. This study covers the major historical events from the arrival of the first Nepali settlers in Bhutan until their settlement and integration into western nations, so it delivers a continuous timeline of the Lhotshampa's history from 1850 until today.

In-depth case-study into resettlement and acculturation among the Lhotshampa

The publications that focus on the resettlement and acculturation of the Lhotshampa in the West are commonly small-scale and localised and focus on one or two factors of resettlement only. This study aims to deliver a more comprehensive picture of the Lhotshampa's experiences during resettlement and cultural adjustment by incorporating a broad range of areas, including employment, housing, social life, social inclusion, religious life, family life and structure, education, happiness, feelings of identity and belonging) as well as several

demographic groups (men/women/youths/the elderly) from the community into the research.

Facilitation of the improvement of current service provision for refugees in Tasmania

One aim of this study is to review existing refugee resettlement policies and procedures in Tasmania in order to find the gaps in the current service provision. This identification of existing flaws will facilitate the development of improvements, where needed, for the adjustment of future resettlement procedures, thereby easing the process for both refugees and service providers.

Improved understanding of underlying structures occurring during resettlement processes

As stated above, one of the objectives of this study is to reveal consistencies in the resettlement and acculturative process that could be applied to refugee communities elsewhere. Although this study is limited by its locality, the results of previous studies suggest certain similarities in the resettlement processes of Lhotshampa communities in other countries, as well as in refugee communities from diverse cultural backgrounds. Thus, by determining underlying patterns or mechanisms of acculturative and resettlement processes that are transferable to various refugee populations, this study could aid host country governments in similar situations in the development of culturally appropriate resettlement and acculturative policies and thus help improve the integration of future generations of refugees.

Definition of Terms

Integration

For the purpose of this study, integration is seen as the process whereby a host society supports and enables refugee communities to gain the tools to participate fully in the wider society, while tolerating and potentially actively promoting the preservation of the refugees' cultural identity. In an integrational framework, refugees have the responsibility to learn and culturally adjust only to the extent that they are able to 'fit in' and participate; however, they are free to retain their cultural identity. Integration is thus a two-way process, where both parties collaborate to find the best suitable integration strategy. It is opposed to assimilation, a process whereby refugees are expected to assimilate to the culture of the host society, where the host society does not promote multiculturalism, and narratives of the nation-

state's identity are formed around a single homogenous culture. How successful integration is measured differs from society to society, however recent academic discourse seems to suggest that it is not only important to measure external factors like employment, housing and education of refugees, but also to include the experiences and subjective feelings of refugees towards the process. Ideally, service providers should work in collaboration with refugees to develop culturally appropriate integrative policies.

Culture and cultural change

Like religion, culture has always been a contested concept. Recent attempts at defining culture have outlined the concept through a range of characteristics rather than providing an ideal type definition. While it is contested whether certain themes, such as religion, should be included in a wider discussion of culture, the following characteristics are commonly agreed upon:

Culture is acquired, or learned, through interaction with other members of the same group in a process that cultural anthropologists call enculturation[3]; members of a group or society share the same culture and communicate via symbols that they have created and given meaning to. Culture is thus never an individual trait (Eller 2015, 26). Furthermore, culture consists of a complex system of numerous interrelated parts such as institutions (religion, politics, economy, kinship), values and ways to behave, which all interact and affect each other. A group's or society's culture is in constant flux; new meanings are created and ideas rearticulated, while finding expression in the members of the group (ibid., 28). Last, culture is adaptive, as it is the result of a people's adjustment to their environment (Eller 2013, 26). Thus typically culture is integrated, learned, a process, adaptive, shared and communicated through symbols.

Cultural change happens for a variety of reasons, and in a variety of ways. Contemporary academic discussion specifies the following types of cultural change: innovation, diffusion, loss, and syncretism or hybridity.

[3] Enculturation is commonly understood as "the process by which a person learns or acquires his or her culture, usually as a child." This process is also often called socialisation (Eller 2013, 21).

Acculturation

In its most neutral definition, acculturation denotes the process of cultural change resulting from continuing intensive contact between two cultures. Theoretically, acculturation should occur in both groups. However, in the context of this study we are looking at small groups that are placed in the 'territory' of powerful nation-states, which are clearly dominant over and in control of the newcomers. In situations like these, the dominant group's culture changes only superficially or not at all, and the subordinate group has no choice but to adjust culturally in order to survive. Nevertheless, even in these situations the change can happen naturally and voluntarily, or it can happen by force through assimilationist practices of the host country. In both cases the less powerful group will adopt more cultural elements and change than the dominant group (ibid., 231). Naturally, different groups acculturate in different ways, even when resettling in the same host country. Individuals also differ in the ways that they adjust to their new lives.

Ethnic groups and ethnic identity

Similar to the concept of culture, no ideal definition of ethnic groups and ethnic identity has so far been established. As ethnic identity is regularly at the core of group conflicts all over the world (Eller 1999, 2), the discussion remains as topical today as it has been for the last decades. Early attempts at defining ethnic groups were based on the essentialist premise that these groups shared a common origin, which unites them and creates boundaries against outsiders. While this essentialist viewpoint has long been abandoned, definitions of the concept of culture today remain both broad and vague, ranging across a wide range of diverging but related phenomena. In contemporary discussion scholars seem to agree that any cultural or historic feature can be used to articulate ethnic belonging (Appadurai 1996, 13); nevertheless, according to Eller, all ethnic groups still mobilise some sort of connection to the past (Eller 1999, 29). Eller provides an outline of key characteristics of ethnic groups that is both comprehensive and concise. This outline shall be used for further discussion of ethnic groups and identity in this study:

- Ethnic groups use cultural or historical 'markers' to articulate difference and create an identity and a sense of belonging;
- These markers can be real, or perceived as real, and they may change over time;

- The group's identity or sense of 'us' may be used to set up boundaries against other groups and to define membership;
- Ethnic identity overarches the group's internal diversity; members differ in their sense of belonging to the group;
- Ethnic groups only exist in relation to other groups with whom they constantly interact and negotiate; thus an ethnic group's boundaries are permeable and can change over time;
- Ethnic groups are not automatically defined through cultural difference from other groups; the difference must be mobilised to create a group consciousness;
- The mobilisation takes place because ethnic groups pursue a goal (ibid., 14), which may be cultural autonomy (for example for migrant groups), economic benefits, political goals etc.

Ethnicity, in short, is a "boundary creating" and "boundary maintaining" phenomenon, which often occurs when multiple groups of heterogeneous cultural belonging live in the same social-political space – which is common in post-colonial, globalised contexts (Eller 2013, 272-3).

Community

Early anthropological definitions commonly described communities as social groups based on real, social connections and deriving their identity from belonging to a certain place. The remote location of many of the observed groups served as natural boundary of the community. However, in an age of globalisation, where many groups of people live in a state of continuous displacement, a group's identity can no longer be based on place alone, and it has been become harder to define what a community is and who belongs to it. Benedict Anderson offered a new conceptual perspective in his much-quoted study on 'imagined communities'; suddenly communities could consist of people who had never met each other and yet shared a sense of belonging to a group united by an idea of nationhood (Anderson 2006 [1983], 6). "Collective identities, in short, whether defined in terms of nation, ethnicity, occupation or political movement, are all too often invoked to fill the vacuum of location once filled (literally) by place" (Amit and Rapport 2002, 3). This new approach of community as 'imagined community' was also incorporated in many of the studies on diasporas or transnationalism (ibid., 17).

Other attempts at defining communities were influenced by Barth's ideas on ethnic boundaries (see above). A. Gupta and J. Ferguson (1997, 13), for example, argued that communities are created by defining who belongs and who does not, "for it is precisely through processes of exclusion and othering that both collective and individual subjects are formed." Similarly, A. Cohen's (2000 [1985], 12) interpretation of community suggested "that the members of a group of people (a) have something in common with each other, which (b) distinguishes them in a significant way from the members of other putative groups". Communities, in Cohen's sense, can be construed around any kind of marker, such as administrative, religious, racial or symbolic belonging; however, in his understanding communities were invoked to create boundaries (ibid., 12).

Amit and Rapport criticised Cohen's and Gupta and Ferguson's approaches, arguing that communities are neither defined by what divides them from others, nor by imagination alone. Instead, the Amit and Rapport suggest, what constitutes a community above all is what people have in common, the shared experiences of real social connections, and the emotional ties this creates among people (Amit and Rapport 2002, 58). Communities are the results of people's efforts to "mobilize social relations" (ibid., 19).

Amit and Rapport's approach of community is also used in this study; here, a community denotes a group of people who are socially connected and have a sense of 'us' that is based on what they have in common. Boundaries may exist to other communities or people, but are not necessarily pursued or maintained, and there may or may not be a mobilisation of difference (see also ethnic groups/cultural groups). Naturally, some people may feel more strongly connected to the community than others, and their sense of belonging may vary over time.

Identity and Hybridity

Similarly to ethnic identity, identity is a much-discussed concept in current academic discourse. In typical postmodern fashion, contemporary identities are often described as decentred, in constant flux and inconsistent (Bolaffi 2003, 142). It has been recognised that the environment of individuals has a strong influence on the sense of identity of people, creating an image of identity that is embedded in and transformed by the cultural and socio-political context of its surroundings. Thus the conceptualisation of identities has changed. Where previously people were seen as rational beings who were in control of themselves and

had an essential core that was unchanging (Hall and du Gay 1996, 3), current discussion suggests the opposite. People are no longer considered 'self-contained'; they identify who they are in relation to other people, often resulting in the creation of dichotomies between us and them, the West and the Orient, white and black etc.; the constant interaction of people with their environment results in a continuous reassessment of themselves and others, leading to the transformation of identity in often uneven, contradictory ways. As such, people are the products of their immediate socio-political, economic and cultural environment (Bolaffi 2003, 142, Hall and du Gay 1996, 4).

Hybridity can occur in a range of contexts such as identity and culture. With regard to identity, hybridity denotes the merge of two or more cultural elements in a person's identity (Bhabha 1990, 211), for example the internalisation of a range of heterogeneous cultural influences in a multicultural environment. Stuart Hall (1990, 235) gives an example in 'Cultural identity and diaspora': Caribbean identity, he states, is the personification of American, European and African cultural elements that have been incorporated in various combinations in Caribbean society. In regards to culture, hybridity describes the process whereby existing cultural elements are merged or combined into a new product, for example in language and literature (Young 2005, 5).

Refugees, asylum seekers, SHPs

Refugees include individuals recognized under the 1951 Convention relating to the Status of Refugees, its 1967 Protocol, the 1969 Organization of African Unity (OAU) Convention Governing the Specific Aspects of Refugee Problems in Africa, those recognized in accordance with the UNHCR Statute, individuals granted complementary forms of protection, and those enjoying temporary protection. The refugee population also includes people in refugee-like situations (UNHCR 2016a, 54). According to the UN conventions a refugee is a person who

> owing to well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country; or who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of his former habitual residence as a result of such events, is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it. (UNHCR 2010, 14)

In Australia, the term 'humanitarian entrants' is used to sum up all those migrant groups who had to leave their homelands involuntarily (Taylor 2004, 17), namely refugees, asylum seekers

and those who fall under the Special Humanitarian Program (SHP). Refugees arrive in Australia through the 'offshore program', which means that they have already been recognised as genuine refugees prior to their arrival, commonly through UNHCR. Once in Australia, refugees are given permanent residency status and full access to all services (ibid., 18). In contrast, asylum seekers (with pending cases) are individuals who have sought international protection and whose claims for refugee status have not yet been determined. People whose claim is determined as genuine will be termed refugees and awarded the same rights as 'offshore' refugees (Karlsen, Phillips, and Koleth 2011, 25). Lastly, people who fall under the SHP (as part of the offshore program) have usually suffered either extensive discrimination or human rights abuses in their home country and can provide a close family member to act as sponsor from within Australia (DIBP 2016b). In this study the term 'refugee' is used for both refugees and SHP entrants.

Lhotshampa

The Lhotshampa, or 'Southerners', are a cultural minority in Bhutan. They are the descendants of Nepali farmers who crossed the borders into Bhutan from the 1850s onwards in search of unoccupied arable land. They settled in the remote south of Bhutan, and remained relatively isolated from the rest of Bhutanese society until the 1950s when modernisation procedures connected the north and the south of the country. In contrast to the majority population, most Lhotshampa are affiliated with Hinduism. Due to their isolation in the southern part of Bhutan, the majority of the Lhotshampa never learned to speak Dzongkha, the national language of Bhutan, and continued to use Nepali as means of communication. After assimilationist policies of the Bhutanese government failed to bridge the cultural differences between the northern Drukpa and the southern Lhotshampa population, approximately 100,000 Lhotshampa were expelled from the country in the early 1990s and found refuge in camps in Nepal. 17 years later, most Lhotshampa have been resettled in third countries. The cultural traditions of the Lhotshampa today consist not only of Bhutanese and Nepalese elements; they have also incorporated or amalgamated elements of their host countries' cultures.

Resettlement

The term 'resettlement' in this study denotes the process that starts when refugees are accepted to live in a host country and ends when the refugees have learned to fully participate

in the new society. Thus, resettlement includes not only the actual movement of people from one nation-state to the next, but also the initial years during which time refugees acquire the tools needed to become members of the society, until the refugees feel that they have the necessary abilities and knowledge to survive unassisted by the government's services. Naturally, the length of this process varies from person to person and from family to family.

Structure of the thesis

Following the introduction, in the second chapter of the thesis - literature review - I analyse current academic literature on the Lhotshampa. The chapter is divided into two parts. In the first part I survey existing literature on the history of the Lhotshampa and the events surrounding their expulsion from a cultural and political perspective. The second part revolves around the resettlement of the Lhotshampa to third countries. I briefly examine articles written about the Lhotshampa's situation in the refugee camps, before discussing the resettlement and acculturation of the refugees in third countries in more detail, as the latter constitutes the most relevant literature for this study.

In the third chapter of the thesis - key concepts - I discuss the theoretical concepts that were utilised during the research. An overview of relevant academic contributions for each concept is provided, followed by a working definition. The concepts included are integration; culture and cultural change; acculturation; ethnic groups and cultural groups; and identity and hybridity. By examining common understandings of each concept I clarify their meaning and usefulness for this study.

In the fourth chapter of the thesis – setting the scene - I provide an overview of the historical and socio-political context from which this study is to be examined, in order to provide the necessary background knowledge to embed the findings of this study into a larger frame of events and help to understand and analyse the results. I begin by describing the history of the Lhotshampa from their arrival in Bhutan in the 19th century through to their expulsion and subsequent arrival in refugee camps in Nepal. I then detail the refugees' lives in the camps as well as the political negotiations between the governments of Bhutan and Nepal, whose inability to find a viable solution resulted in the resettlement of all Lhotshampa refugees in third countries 17 years later. Next, I investigate Australia's setup as a host country, surveying

current refugee resettlement procedures, political attitudes towards refugees and racism. I conclude by giving a brief overview of Tasmania's current resettlement services.

In the fifth chapter of this study I describe the methodology used during fieldwork. In the first part I provide a short overview of the main philosophical ideas that influenced and shaped contemporary qualitative research. I then discuss the ontological and epistemological premises that qualitative research is based on and explain why it is most suited to achieving the objectives of this study. The second part of this chapter revolves around my experiences during fieldwork. First, I address the challenges I faced in terms of access to the community, the recruitment of participants, ethical considerations and the validity of the information gained, before describing what approaches or methods worked well during fieldwork. I then analyse my personal background in regard to how it might have affected the research, and the impact that the time in the field had on me. Having discussed the theoretical basis and practice of fieldwork, in the final section of this chapter I address the challenges revolving around the representation of data, and questions of validity, generalisability and reliability, or rather, their qualitative equivalents.

The sixth chapter of this study is a combination of my findings and discussion. I chose this format due to the nature of my results, which comprise numerous heterogeneous elements; to ensure overall coherence and readability it seemed more appropriate to interpret each section after presenting the respective data instead of writing the discussion as a separate chapter. I have put the results, where possible, into correlation to existing studies and also embedded them in a wider framework of recent theoretical discussion. A response to the hypotheses outlined in this introduction is also provided. The chapter is divided into three parts. In the first part I detail the challenges occurring during the resettlement period in the areas of family organisation, employment, housing, social inclusion, health, education, religion and general wellbeing, before discussing what the results implicate in terms of integrative policies and their implementation into practice. The second part revolves around the acculturative processes of the Lhotshampa in Tasmania. Here I examine the areas where cultural change occurs and how the Lhotshampa negotiate these changes. I describe what cultural traditions the Lhotshampa aim to preserve, and investigate what factors act as inhibitors to cultural adjustment. The results show that acculturation is a complex, heterogeneous process which is not easily predictable, indicating the need for flexible

acculturative policies that take the particular cultural needs of refugee communities into account. In the third and final part I describe my findings regarding the Lhotshampa's feelings of identity and belonging. After showing that the Lhotshampa community consists of a wide range of heterogeneous hybrid identities, I explore possible reasons for this phenomenon.

In the final chapter - conclusion - I briefly summarise my responses to the objectives of this study before discussing their implications for policymakers and service providers; I propose an integrative approach whereby resettlement policies and procedures are developed in collaboration and ongoing consultation with refugee groups, and indicators of successful resettlement are not only based on a range of imposed categories, such as employment rates and average wages, but also take into account the resettlement goals of the refugees. In order to address the issues that refugees currently face when resettling in Tasmania, I suggest a range of improvements in regard to future resettlement policy. I conclude the chapter by detailing the limitations of this study in terms of content and provide suggestions for further research. As global refugee numbers are unlikely to decrease in the coming decades, I suggest that the lessons learned in this study will be useful for future studies on refugee resettlement.

Chapter 2 - Literature review

There exists only a small amount of academic literature on the Lhotshampa. Due to the isolated existence of the Lhotshampa in remote Bhutan, only few scholars have taken interest in this community. However, as the situation in Bhutan escalated in the 1990s, resulting in the flight of 100,000 Lhotshampa to refugee camps in Nepal and subsequently their resettlement in third countries, more research started to be conducted in this area. The current literature can be divided into three sections:

1. Literature that provides a historical overview of the Lhotshampa and analyses possible causes for the expulsion and subsequent placement of this ethnic group in refugee camps, including the political role that Bhutan, India and Nepal have played in this situation;
2. Literature that explores the resettlement of the Lhotshampa in third countries in Europe, North America and Australia. Discussed here are issues surrounding acculturation, integration and identity, but also practical challenges that arise for host countries, such as the provision of employment and education for Bhutanese refugees; and
3. Literature that analyses the impact that both the unrest in Bhutan and the extended stay in refugee camps had on the mental and physical health of the Lhotshampa, and the potential consequences for resettlement in third countries.

In this chapter I will review the existing literature of sections 1 and 2. Section 3 will not be discussed as this type of literature requires specific medical or psychiatric knowledge, and is only marginally relevant to the scope of this study.

Literature on the history and socio-political developments in Bhutan, Nepal and India

The American Leo E. Rose was one of the earliest scholars to take an interest in the Lhotshampa before the political unrest started in the late 1980s. In his book *The Politics of Bhutan*, Rose (1977) aims to provide an overview of the political system in Bhutan. He begins by analysing the historical context and development of today's institutions, as well as the social and ethnic composition of the Bhutanese population. Even though his research was conducted in the 1970s, Rose already noticed the tension between the northern Drukpa population and the Nepali speaking people of the south, which he terms the 'Nepalese

problem' (Rose 1977, 47). He shows how the escalation of the 1990s was the culmination of tension that had grown over decades. Rose explains how the Bhutanese government feared being overrun by Nepali immigrants, as similar events had taken place in Sikkim earlier. This previously Buddhist kingdom had been incorporated into India in the mid-1970s after large groups of Nepalis had migrated into the country. In the next chapter of his book, Rose provides a concise historical account of Bhutan's international relations with China, India, Nepal and the UK, returning towards the end to the question of whether the Nepali minority in the south poses a threat to the Bhutanese government. He examines Bhutan's internal politics and policies, frequently mentioning the relationship between the government and the Lhotshampa in the south and the beginnings of the first Lhotshampa rebel movements. Rose proceeds by briefly describing Bhutan's modernisation process (the so-called 5-year-plans), before providing an overview of the historical development of Bhutan's monarchy, the foundation of the Tshogdu, or Royal Advisory Council in 1953, its members, responsibilities and rights and other advisory bodies. In the final chapter, Rose describes Bhutan's administrative system, how the Bhutanese army is set up and how the judicial system works. He concludes his book by elaborating on potential future developments of the Bhutanese government and system.

H. Misra (1988) provides, similarly to Rose, a good overview of Bhutan's society in his book *Bhutan, Problems and Policies*, although he focusses more on Bhutan's status in terms of development and resources rather than its politics. Misra commences by describing the country's geographical regions and natural resources, before briefly summarising Bhutan's history and socio-cultural composition. He proceeds by detailing the country's economic system, including its produce and sources of income, its industrial development and tourism. Bhutan's population, its demographic setup, settlement sizes, distribution and urban environment are discussed next, followed by an explanation of Bhutan's national policies and development plans. Subsequently, Misra discusses the setup of the Bhutanese government, including the National Assembly and Royal Advisory Council and the other offices that are responsible for the administration and government of the nation-state. This is followed by an overview of aid agencies, such as OXFAM and UNICEF, which are employed in Bhutan's development projects, and their role in the country's modernisation. Misra concludes his book by providing a brief assessment of the country's overall socio-economic and political

situation, and analyses what areas need to be improved to raise Bhutan out of its low development status.

One of the first books on the dispersal of the Lhotshampa from Bhutan is a collection of articles with the title *Bhutan: Perspectives on conflict and dissent*, edited by Michael Hutt (1994). In this book the authors provide their interpretation of the political developments in Bhutan that led to the expulsion of the Lhotshampa. Representatives of both the Bhutanese government and the Nepali side describe their version of the events, enabling the reader to form a comprehensive opinion of the situation. Jigmi Thinley, for example, who worked as a minister in the Bhutanese government, explains how from their point of view the Lhotshampa purposely misled the Bhutanese government by inviting their kin to move to Bhutan without notifying the government or asking permission. Thinley claims that most Lhotshampa never gave up their allegiance to Nepal. Their rapidly growing numbers, combined with their isolation in the south, made them a threat to Bhutanese culture and inner stability. Another noteworthy contribution to this book was made by Christopher Strawn, who provides a concise and objective overview of the history of the Lhotshampa in Bhutan until their dispersal, without taking sides. Last, Rachael Reilly details what life was like in the refugee camps in Nepal, describing the roles and contributions of the various NGOs involved. Hutt's book thus provides a comprehensive compilation of articles, which showcases the conflict between the Bhutanese and the Lhotshampa from different angles, while most other literature on the topic is to some extent one-sided, in that it supports the Lhotshampa's plea without examining why the Bhutanese government acted the way it did.

Arguably the most thoroughly researched and detailed book on the conflict between the Bhutanese government and the Lhotshampa was written by Michael Hutt (2005 [2003]) with the title *Unbecoming citizens. Culture, nationhood, and the flight of refugees from Bhutan*. Hutt commences his book by providing a comprehensive overview of the history of Bhutan, its popular myths and belief, its ethnic groups, religions, languages and modern administration, before shifting his focus to the Lhotshampa. He describes their arrival in Bhutan and the establishment of the first Nepali settlements, and explains why the Bhutanese government was prepared to let them settle on Bhutanese soil. Subsequently, Hutt details the political developments and reformation of the Bhutanese government starting in the mid-20th century, and the recognition of the Lhotshampa as Bhutanese citizens. He describes how

the general attitude towards the Lhotshampa changed after the ascendance of a new King, and then proceeds by detailing the forced assimilation measures and the growing discontent among the ethnic Nepalis in the 1980s. Hutt also considers the political climate and developments of Bhutan's neighbours India, Sikkim and Nepal at the time, enabling the reader to better assess and comprehend some of the actions of the Bhutanese government, which eventually resulted in the flight of around 100,000 Lhotshampa to India and Nepal. Hutt's final chapters examine the Lhotshampa's situation in the refugee camps, and analyse the reasons for the inability of the Bhutanese and Nepalese governments to find a viable solution for the refugees. Hutt concludes his book by examining the role of nation-states and their minority populations, describing how culture is utilised by small countries to set boundaries to more powerful neighbours, resulting in the eradication of multiculturalism within those small countries.

Two years later, in 2005, Michael Hutt published an additional article with the title 'The Bhutanese refugees: Between verification, repatriation and royal realpolitik.' In this article Hutt provides a summary of the events that led to the dispersal of the Lhotshampa from Bhutan before describing their arrival in the refugee camps. He explains why the negotiations between the governments of Bhutan and Nepal that were held to establish the identity/citizenship status of the refugees in the camps repeatedly failed to produce results. He further describes how the Joint Verification Committee (JVC), which was founded to ascertain the origin of the 100,000 refugees in the camps, created a list that divided the Lhotshampa into four different categories, some of which would have entitled the Lhotshampa to return to Bhutan under certain conditions. However, as not a single refugee chose to return, Hutt analyses why Bhutan's proposed repatriation program failed to provide a viable solution for the Lhotshampa. Hutt concludes his article by analysing the roles of India and Nepal in the conflict.

A more theoretical approach to the conflict was taken by Richard C. Whitecross (2009a) in his article 'Intimacy, loyalty and state formation: The spectre of the anti-national'. His aim is to consider how loyalty as a traditional Bhutanese value plays a role in causing the conflict between the Lhotshampa and the Bhutanese government. Whitecross proposes that it was expected of Bhutanese citizens in the mid-20th century to be loyal to the state. When the Lhotshampa started to question the government's policies, the author argues, they were

labelled Anti-Nationals (*ngolops*) and portrayed as such in the Bhutanese media. Whitecross suggests that Bhutan's government, being concerned about inner stability, aimed to strengthen national solidarity by creating an 'other' that was the Lhotshampa, by purposely stirring feelings of resentment against this minority among the general population. According to the author, the Bhutanese government of the 1980s aimed to present the country as a culturally unified nation, and dissent of any kind was not tolerated. Whitecross concludes his article by detailing how an ideal of loyalty to king or state can result in sections of the population being alienated and eventually excluded.

Another theoretical approach towards the conflict was taken by Bindhiya Rai (2015). She explores in her dissertation 'Ethnic minorities and cultural homogenization in Bhutan' the relationship between ethnic nationalism and ethnic minorities, in this case the Lhotshampa. Like others before her, she commences her book by providing an overview of the history of Bhutan and its demography, including ethnic groups, social structure and religious and cultural practices. After describing the various ethnic minorities in Bhutan and their relationship to the government, she proceeds to discuss the concept of cultural homogenisation and its connection to ethnic nationalism. Ethnic nationalism, she states, is not based on common values, but rather on common ancestry and culture. Rai argues that minority groups in nation-states where the majority is ethnic nationalistic must either leave the country or assimilate to the culture of the majority, as multiculturalism is not tolerated. Ethnic nationalism is thus different from national identity, Rai argues, in that ethnic nationalists see their nation-state as an extended ethnic group, while national identity is based on other common qualities or values.

The following two contributions examine in detail the political motivation behind the expulsion of the Lhotshampa from Bhutan. Both suggest that there was no real threat to Bhutan's cultural identity and cohesion, strongly criticising the government for its treatment of the Lhotshampa:

Dhakal and Strawn (1994) explore in their book *Bhutan. A Movement in Exile* the question whether the Lhotshampa did indeed pose a threat to Bhutanese culture. The authors commence by providing an overview of the migration and settlement of the Lhotshampa in southern Bhutan, describing how the Lhotshampa were content and slowly integrating into the larger Bhutanese society until the 1980s. Dhakal and Strawn consider the forced

Bhutanisation policies of the new King as the source of the later unrest. They argue that the King ran a propaganda campaign in which he presented the Lhotshampa as a threat to Bhutan's unique culture, thereby 'othering' them to justify his assimilationist policies. Dhakal and Strawn suggest that if Bhutan had embraced a multicultural policy, the Lhotshampa would have assimilated sooner or later into mainstream society. However, this theory is questionable, as the Lhotshampa's affiliation to Hinduism was continuously reaffirmed through exchange with India, making conversions to Buddhism unlikely. The Lhotshampa's power and influence grew steadily in the second half of the 20th century; many Lhotshampa held positions in the Bhutanese government and administration, a policy that the previous King had supported, and their population had grown rapidly over the last decades. Being so powerful, it is difficult to imagine why the Lhotshampa would have assimilated into Drukpa society in the next decades. A multicultural policy might have proven the most peaceful solution; however, the King felt that this would threaten the uniqueness of Bhutan's cultural identity and make its preservation difficult. Dhakal and Strawn conclude their book by criticising the international community for not putting pressure on the Bhutanese government to find a viable solution for the refugees after the events of the 1990s, which they attribute to the western countries' preference for Bhutan's culture over Nepal's culture and the desire to preserve it.

Dhurba Rizal (2004), in a similar fashion to Dhakal and Strawn, examines in *The unknown refugee crisis: Expulsion of the ethnic Lhotshampa from Bhutan* the reasons behind the escalation between the Bhutanese government and the Lhotshampa. In line with other authors, he commences by providing an overview of the history of the Lhotshampa in Bhutan, from the arrival of the first Nepalis in the south in the late 19th century until their expulsion in the 1990s and subsequent settlement in refugee camps in Nepal. Rizal argues that the Bhutanese ruling elite was responsible for the cultural homogenisation process that was implemented in the 1980s, claiming that this elite was aiming for a purely Buddhist nation and identity. Rizal states that Bhutan has always been multi-cultural and multi-religious and that the various ethnic groups had lived peacefully together before the Drukpa elite came into power in the 1980s. He fails to acknowledge, however, that the numerous ethnic groups were all Buddhist, sharing common cultural traits and customs, with the Lhotshampa being the only exception. As such, Bhutan was hardly multicultural or multi-religious. Rizal suggests that

Bhutan embrace multiculturalism, and a secular democracy, although it is hard to imagine why Bhutan should change its political system so drastically, considering most of the population is content living in a monarchic system.

Another article on the dispersal of the Lhotshampa from Bhutan was written by Rosalind Evans (2010) with the title 'The perils of being a borderland people: On the Lhotshampas of Bhutan'. Evans's aim was to record the refugees' version of the events that led to the flight of 100,000 Nepali-Bhutanese in the 1990s. To that effect she conducted research in the Lhotshampa refugee camps in Nepal, interviewing many refugees. The key point that Evans makes is that it is important in situations where political interests are involved to not just listen to the official accounts of the involved parties, in this case the Bhutanese government and Nepali political activists, but also to the interpretations of events from ordinary people. While official accounts usually follow an agenda, ordinary civilians are more likely to tell their story unaltered as they are not pursuing personal interests, according to Evans. She discovered, for example, how the Lhotshampa were put under pressure not only by the Bhutanese government but also by the dissidents from their own ranks. The dissidents frequently forced Lhotshampa farmers to support the rebel cause financially, or pressured villages to deliver a member from each household to join their ranks. According to Evans, villagers were kidnapped and assaulted by the dissidents as well as the Bhutanese army. Evans's findings reveal the complexity of the situation that led to the flight of the Lhotshampa. It calls into question the content of earlier contributions like that of Dhakal and Strawn, Rizal and Thinley whose articles appear biased and one-sided, accusing either the Lhotshampa or the Bhutanese government of being the source of the unrest of the 90s.

The last book I would like to discuss here - *Development challenges in Bhutan: Perspectives on inequality and Gross National Happiness* - edited by Johannes Dragsbaek Schmidt (2017), examines how the promotion and implementation of the GNH (Gross National Happiness) as one of the pillars of Bhutan's current ideology affects the development of policies in a range of sectors in Bhutan, and how it is connected to Bhutan's transition to a constitutional monarchy. It highlights existing inequalities in various areas, such as gender, ethnic and religious affiliation, and education, and explores their relation to the GNH and nation-building process. While this book contains eleven articles, only some contributions are of interest to this study, as they are connected to the Lhotshampa's current situation in Bhutan: the first

relevant article was written by Michael Hutt with the title 'Sociocultural and political change in Bhutan since the 1980s: Reflections from a distance'. It revolves around Bhutan's attempts at cultural homogenisation, and its effects on the Lhotshampa as one of its minorities; Hutt also considers how this policy is most likely to play out in an increasingly democratised Bhutan. Also of interest is the study by J. D. Schmidt: 'Donor-assisted ethno-nationalism and education policy in Bhutan', in which he examines the reasons why Bhutan is so successful in attracting international aid and donations, despite the treatment of its minorities. Another relevant contribution was made by Winnie Bothe, who analyses Bhutan's GNH policy and how it affects current ethnic, material and symbolic inequalities in her article 'Gross National Happiness and inequality'. Bothe details how the Lhotshampa are among the poorest and most disadvantaged of all ethnic groups in Bhutan. Finally, Mari Miyamoto examines, in her article 'A form of "democratization project" in contemporary Bhutan: Being apolitical and being religious', the relationship between religion and politics in Bhutan and the changes these areas have undergone during the transition to a constitutional monarchy. She questions the lack of political rights of the civil population and the theocrats, and contemplates future developments of the political rights of Bhutan's citizens.

Literature on the resettlement of the Lhotshampa in third countries

This section is divided into two parts. The first part reviews current literature on the Lhotshampa's situation in the refugee camps and the implementation of third country resettlement, while the second part revolves around the Lhotshampa's integration into various host countries, focussing on challenges that arise during the process.

Literature on the Nepali refugee camps

In 'Third country resettlement and the Bhutanese refugee crisis: a critical reflection', Shiva Dhungana (2010) discusses the implementation of third country resettlement for the refugees in Nepal. After giving a brief overview of the conflict and the current situation in the camps, Dhungana analyses advantages and disadvantages of third country resettlement for the Lhotshampa. His article is highly critical of the Bhutanese government and the other nations that are involved in the resettlement process. He questions, for example, whether third country resettlement was indeed motivated by humanitarian reasons, or whether the real purpose behind it was to avoid further embarrassment for the nations involved. Once the protracted refugee situation has been resolved, Dhungana suggests, the Bhutanese

government's next step will be to slowly rid the country of the remaining population of Lhotshampa. Dhungana also criticises the way the resettlement was communicated to the refugees, arguing that there was a lack of transparency and information flow throughout the camps. He claims that the refugees were not allowed to discuss the resettlement openly and that the camp guards severely beat anyone who argued against it. As a result, Dhungana states, the Lhotshampa were not able to make an informed decision about their future. He concedes, however, that third country resettlement is most likely the best option for young Lhotshampa, as it allows them to start over in a new country and build a life for themselves. Dhungana concludes his article by calling on the international community to not let the Bhutanese government emerge unscathed after having forcibly removed one of its ethnic minorities, not only for the benefit of the Lhotshampa, but also to set an example for similar situations in the future.

Christer Lænkholm (2007) interprets the implementation of third country resettlement differently from Dhungana. In his article 'Resettlement for Bhutanese refugees' he argues that most refugees look forward to their resettlement in third countries, especially because it enables them to create a better life for their children. According to Lænkholm, it is not the guards that prevent people discussing resettlement, but other refugees who are against this process, in order to force a return to Bhutan. In any case, Lænkholm suggests that most Lhotshampa have no confidence in Bhutan's proposed repatriation program and are therefore not considering returning; thus third country resettlement might be the only viable solution left to this group.

An article reviewing refugee education programs in UNHCR camps, titled 'Improving quality and attainment in refugee schools: The case of the Bhutanese refugees in Nepal', was written by Timothy Brown (2001). Brown details the findings of an in-depth case study of refugee education in the camps in Nepal. His aim is to develop guidelines for program managers to improve the overall education in UNHCR refugee camps. As education is often the only means for refugees to prepare themselves for their future, good quality programs are crucial for refugees. The author begins by providing an overview of the current educational system in the refugee camps in Nepal, detailing the amount of funding, materials, teachers and other necessities that are available for educational purposes. Brown explains that the refugees attain on average better results in national exams than the Nepalese population, which in his

consideration shows that the education program works well. Investigating what makes the education program of the Lhotshampa so successful, the author suggests that its most important strengths lie in the positive attitudes of the refugees, in the recognition and appreciation of the teachers' hard work and dedication, and in the efficient management and organisation of the program. Brown concludes his report by providing recommendations for future education programs, for example on how to keep costs down, train teachers and keep refugees motivated.

Debra Pressé and Jessie Thomson (2008), in their article 'The resettlement challenge: integration of refugees from protracted refugee situations', examine the consequences of protracted refugee situations for refugees in resettlement. In 2003, the average length of residence of refugees in refugee camps was 17 years, evidence that many current refugees spend decades in limbo: they cannot work, access higher education or make plans for their future. This situation leaves many refugees with physical and mental health issues, often exacerbating the difficulty of integration into host countries. The authors' aim is to develop methods to better facilitate the varying needs of refugees from protracted refugee situations. To this effect they conduct a thorough examination of the current Canadian resettlement policies on integration. Their findings suggest that a 'needs-based' or 'client-centred' approach is the most suitable solution for most refugees. This approach requires that both "subjective and objective factors, as well as the experiences of different refugee populations" are taken into consideration, while laying special emphasis on the refugees' individual backgrounds.

Literature on Lhotshampa examining resettlement and integration

Most studies on the resettlement of Lhotshampa in third countries have so far been conducted in the USA, but research from other host countries also slowly emerges. In the following section I first review articles from the USA, followed by examples from Norway and Australia.

Studies from the USA

Christie Shrestha (2011), in 'Power and politics in resettlement: A case study of Bhutanese refugees in the USA', examines the settlement of a group of Lhotshampa refugees in a small town in the USA. Her aim is to critically analyse the resettlement policies and procedures of local NGOs, and to find ways to improve the resettlement process. Shrestha conducted her

fieldwork in 2009 with refugees who had arrived in the USA only a few months earlier. Her findings suggest several flaws in the American resettlement system and procedures. Service providers, for example, seem to expect refugees to become financially self-sufficient within three months of their arrival, which is unrealistic given the refugees' history of unemployment and lack of education. Shrestha found that procedures and rules were not communicated efficiently to the refugees, leading to misunderstandings and frustration on both sides. She states that in some cases refugees were left without any support if they didn't behave in a way that was expected and appropriate. In her experience, the refugee workers had no adequate understanding of cultural differences, shown for example in the way that they expected the refugees to learn to speak accent-free and to embrace American values within a short time of their arrival. Additionally, refugees were regularly treated in a patronising manner for their cultural background. Shrestha concludes her report by suggesting that the USA does not have the facilities to appropriately support the large number of refugees they have taken on, leading to unnecessary hardships for the refugees. Additionally, she suggests that the NGOs develop culturally appropriate procedures that treat refugees with respect, with regular reviews that also include the opinions and suggestions of the refugees.

Kellan K. Smith (2013) chose a very different focus in her study 'Caregivers and breadwinners, daughters and sisters: The relationship between informal English language acquisition and household roles among Bhutanese refugee women in Tucson'. Smith's aim is to analyse the impact of traditional household roles on the English language acquisition of Nepali-Bhutanese refugees. As part of her research, Smith conducted an in-depth case study with one Bhutanese family in Tucson, USA, over several months. Her findings suggest that traditional roles of men and women are changing; Lhotshampa women, who traditionally stayed at home to look after the house and family now work in paid employment, while men take on domestic chores like childcare or grocery shopping. Nevertheless, in many cases the workload has doubled for the women, as most still bear the main responsibility for running the household even when working full-time. Another impact of integration is the adjustment of household roles according to the English proficiency of each member. Smith noted that among the Lhotshampa high English proficiency was put on a level with being successful at work, and the potential of obtaining more prestigious positions and higher income. Thus, many of the younger Lhotshampa study hard to improve their English, which enables them to gain access

to higher education and employment. This, so Smith concludes, has led to a drastic reorganisation of the household: it is the young men and women who are now much more capable than their parents of interacting with the outside world, and they become responsible for many of the tasks that would traditionally have been the duties of their parents, such as paying bills, signing contracts, using the internet and phones, helping in medical situations, and other duties that require communication skills and literacy in English. Smith's study has thus shown that traditional household roles in the Bhutanese community are changing, not only between men and women, but also between the older and younger generations.

Cheryl D'Mello's (2010) objective in conducting research with the Lhotshampa was to investigate to what extent these refugees utilise a variety of media and communication devices to aid their adjustment to American culture. She presented her results in her Master's thesis titled 'The influence of new communication technology on the acculturation of Bhutanese refugees in an American community'. D'Mello observed that the refugees who read local newspapers or watched TV with the purpose of learning about American culture had fewer adjustment problems than those who did not use these devices. Similarly, Bhutanese who regularly communicated with the American population seemed to feel more confident and experience fewer acculturative stresses than others who did not communicate with the host population. It needs to be considered, however, whether the refugees who used media devices and communicated with the host effectively spoke better English than others to begin with, providing them with the skills and confidence to utilise communication as a means to improving their English proficiency even more and thus facilitating a smoother adjustment process. Apart from examining the connection between communication technology and acculturation, D'Mello also provides a good overview of common challenges in the resettlement process. She describes the Bhutanese's experiences with employment, English lessons, social inclusion, and their thoughts on identity and cultural maintenance. According to D'Mello's results, more than 80 percent stated that finding work was the biggest hurdle, followed by learning English.

Factors that influence resettlement were also examined by Hauck, Lo et al. (2014), who conducted a study into acculturation strategies of different refugee groups in the USA. The results were published in an article with the title 'Factors influencing the acculturation of Burmese, Bhutanese, and Iraqi refugees into American society: Cross-cultural comparisons'.

The aim of the study was to find out what factors have the most impact on the acculturation of refugees. The results suggest that English proficiency, social support, financial support and institutional support all play an important role in the resettlement experience. However, the argument that Hauck et al. support is that refugees' living conditions prior to their resettlement can impact the adjustment process just as strongly, as they directly shape the refugees' expectations of their resettlement. The authors claim that Bhutanese refugees, for example, feel reasonably content with working low-level jobs in the host country because their expectations about employment opportunities had been low in the first place. Thus, so the authors conclude, it is important that researchers who study refugee groups consider a wide range of factors both pre- and post-migration before making recommendations for integration policies or similar.

The article 'Mind the gap: An assessment of need in the Hampton Road Bhutanese community' by Loy et al. (2015) takes a similar approach. The authors conducted research in Virginia, USA, with the purpose of exploring how Bhutanese refugees are adjusting to life in the host country and what the most common challenges are during the initial years. Loy et al. argue that most difficulties during resettlement originate in the protracted refugee situation that the refugees had to endure before the third country resettlement was implemented. Spending 20 years in refugee camps resulted in a lack of education, literacy and work experience in most adults of working age, often combined with the consequences of years of malnutrition. These pre-existing 'conditions' then lead to high unemployment rates, no access to higher education, poor physical and mental health and thus a low chance of upward mobility in the host country, exacerbating the integration of refugees. After conducting an in-depth case study in a small Bhutanese community, the authors suggest that the primary concerns for the Bhutanese are a lack of English proficiency and education, leading to low employment rates and income. Additionally, even though many suffer from physical and mental illness, many go untreated, as they cannot afford health care. The authors conclude their article by providing a needs assessment for the Bhutanese community in Hampton Rd., with the aim of providing guidelines for future policy development.

An article titled 'Coming to America. Living in freedom, cultivating dreams, facing challenge while developing a bi-cultural ethnic identity as Bhutanese refugee children', which revolves around exploring identity among Lhotshampa youth, was published by Kim and Till (2015).

The authors' aim is to develop an action model to improve future resettlement procedures and policies. The study puts special emphasis on questions of identity in refugee children, detailing the challenges for young refugees who must constantly negotiate the concept of who they are with the expectations of the host society and those of their parents. After discussing the positive effects of bicultural identities for young refugees, the authors conclude by suggesting a resettlement strategy that creates a multicultural environment where young refugees feel encouraged to develop an identity that embraces both traditional and new values and customs.

A more critical approach to resettlement in the USA was written by Molly Winslow (2014) in her Honours thesis 'Resettled: a portrait of Bhutanese refugees in Dayton, Ohio'. Winslow conducted her research with the aim of exploring common barriers to resettlement in American society. She criticises the way the American government boasts about the large number of refugees that are being resettled successfully, while in reality many refugees struggle to rebuild their lives. Successful integration in the USA, according to Winslow, is measured solely by the degree of financial self-sufficiency that refugees achieve. While it is important for most to not depend on welfare, there are many more factors that determine the wellbeing of refugees, especially during the initial years. Winslow states, in line with other authors, that the most important factors determining the well-being of refugees are employment, English proficiency and access to a co-cultural community. Her findings suggest that in most cases the only employment accessible for the Lhotshampa is from the secondary labour market, and thus the payment and status of the work is low, with little or no upward social mobility. Her results further show that people who speak sufficient English experience significantly less stress during resettlement than those whose proficiency is low, especially if there is no large community nearby for support. The last determining factor is whether the refugees have access to a co-cultural community. However, an established community can influence its members in various ways that are not always beneficial. While a community provides reassurance and assistance for its members, it can also act as inhibitor; refugees can fulfil their needs inside the community, and do not need to interact with the host population, thus they isolate themselves from everyone else. Winslow suggests that a strong religious affiliation can influence refugees in similar ways. On the one hand religion gives structure and meaning to the refugees' lives, on the other hand it separates them from the rest of society.

Winslow's argument thus shows that it is important to give refugees access to members of their own cultural group, however, contact with the host population should also be facilitated and encouraged.

Benson et al. (2012) arrived at similar conclusions in their study 'Religious coping and acculturation stress among Hindu Bhutanese: A study of newly-resettled refugees in the United States', which examines the role of religion in the acculturative process of Bhutanese refugees. While the authors expected to confirm the fact that religion has a beneficial effect on acculturation stresses, the outcome of their study showed the opposite: the more time the Lhotshampa spent in their community socialising or practicing their religion, the more acculturative stress they felt. Especially in terms of religious affiliation the results showed that the deeper a refugee's devotion to Hinduism, the larger the gap between his or her traditional values and those of the host society appeared. These results suggest that access to a co-cultural or co-religious community can lead to refugees feeling isolated from the general population, up to the point where the differences seem insurmountable. Benson et al. conclude by suggesting that the role of religion should be taken into consideration when developing integration policy, and that it should also form an integral part of refugee needs assessments. Additionally, the authors recommended the development of resettlement policies that provide newly arrived refugees with easy access to both their co-cultural community and the wider society.

Studies from Norway

In 'Resettlement of Bhutanese refugees: a misery or solution, a case study of Bhutanese refugees from Rogaland and Alta', Sanjiwani Gharti (2011) aims to explore the key factors determining refugee resettlement in third countries. Garthi's research is based on the resettlement experiences of a group of Bhutanese refugees in Norway, and consists of a detailed analysis of the resettlement process, the Lhotshampa's living conditions in Norway, and the degree of integration into the host society. His findings suggest that the degree of cultural adjustment and integration of refugees into the host society is impacted by a range of factors: While cultural adaptation is mainly shaped by a refugee's gender, socio-demographic status, length of residence, the setup of the host society and the quality and amount of social support, the degree of integration is influenced by factors such as employment opportunities, access to family reunification and citizenship, social contact with

Norwegians, discrimination, health, political participation and personal rights such as freedom of speech and religion. It is questionable, however, whether cultural adjustment and integration can be regarded as heterogeneous processes, each with their own set of influencing factors. Apart from discussing the influencing factors of resettlement, Garthi explores the question of whether resettlement in Norway can be described as a positive outcome for the Bhutanese refugees when compared to a potential future that they could have had in Nepal. As most refugees in Norway are content with their quality of life and financial security he suggests that resettlement in Norway was most likely the best possible solution.

Another study from Norway detailing the resettlement of a Bhutanese refugee community was published by Mahesh Bhattarai (2014) under the title 'Integration challenges for Bhutanese refugees in Norway via third country resettlement'. In line with previously discussed articles, Bhattarai commences by examining the reasons for the resettlement of Bhutanese refugees in Norway, the resettlement procedures, and the main challenges occurring during the process. Bhattarai's research was conducted in a community of about 500 refugees. The Norwegian government provided them with essential services like language and culture classes, social housing and health care. Interestingly, unlike the Lhotshampa in other host countries, refugees in Norway do not seem to struggle to find work, with over 70 percent of Bhutanese of working age in employment. The Lhotshampa also found it easy to integrate socially, according to Bhattarai, and many have learnt sufficient Norwegian to communicate regularly and confidently with the Norwegian host population. In terms of cultural adaptation, the Lhotshampa seem to experience similar challenges in Norway as in other countries; children adapt to life in the host country more quickly than their parents and grandparents, resulting in conflicts with the older generation that fears that the Bhutanese's cultural traditions will be forgotten. Bhattarai voices concerns that the Bhutanese adapt too quickly to the new society, possibly resulting in assimilation rather than integration. Accordingly, he concludes his article by suggesting that a host country should promote multiculturalist attitudes to ensure that refugees do not feel that they must assimilate to make a life in the new society.

Studies from New Zealand

In 'Feeling at Home? Former Bhutanese Refugee Women and Girls in New Zealand', Sunita Basnet (2016) explores the concept of home among Lhotshampa refugees in New Zealand as part of her PhD thesis. Using a qualitative approach, she examines whether or not the Bhutanese feel at home in New Zealand, and what factors influence the homemaking process. Basnet commences her article by providing a brief overview of the Lhotshampa's history up to their arrival in third countries, and then proceeds by describing current academic discourse on the concept of 'home'. After outlining New Zealand's particularities as a resettlement destination, Basnet provides a brief description of her methods in the field. In the next section, her findings, she details how home is for many Lhotshampa where one's family resides, and where one has a network of neighbours and friends; for others, feelings of belonging are connected to citizenship or house ownership. Factors that hinder the Lhotshampa feeling at home in New Zealand are for example feeling unsafe due to racist experiences, and feeling isolated, due to language difficulties and different social customs. She concludes her article by emphasising how an understanding of home and homemaking practices among refugee groups is useful for policymakers as it can help to raise awareness of what factors influence whether refugees develop a sense of belonging to the host country.

Studies from Australia

The last article I would like to discuss was written by Venkat Pulla and Jennifer Woods (2016) with the title 'The Lhotshampa in Australia: Their spirituality for coping and resilience'. The authors' aim was to examine the role of spirituality in the resettlement process of Lhotshampa refugees in Australia. Their results oppose those of Benson or Winslow, discussed earlier, claiming that the source of the successful resettlement of the Bhutanese lies in their lived spirituality. However, the authors fail to define how successful resettlement is measured and make no mention of the many challenges that refugees still struggle to overcome after years of resettlement. According to Pulla and Woods, spirituality is an integral part of every human being which, through its many functions, can foster resilience in people. Spirituality keeps the community connected, reiterates cultural belonging and offers many occasions to socialise. Additionally, by following a religion like Hinduism, people do not only belong to one small community, but are also part of a global spiritual community, a 'Hindu diaspora'. Thus, while the findings of Pulla and Woods and Benson et al. results differ

significantly, all agree on the importance that religion or spirituality has in the lives of Bhutanese refugees and others, and that it should play a part in resettlement policies.

Summary

I have shown that the existing literature on the Lhotshampa is still sparse; while there are several comprehensive publications on the history of the Lhotshampa in Bhutan and the consequences of their expulsion in the 1990s, not much research has been undertaken about the resettlement experiences of the Lhotshampa in third countries. Regarding the latter, most articles were published in the USA. Hardly any data is available on the resettlement of the Lhotshampa in other countries like Australia, New Zealand or the few European countries that welcomed these refugees. Additionally, most literature is localised, based on small scale in-depth case studies, often focussing on single aspects of resettlement, like the role of religion in the acculturative process, or the concept of identity among Bhutanese youth. While several studies have been conducted on factors influencing the resettlement and acculturation of Bhutanese refugees in Western countries, so far the relationship between the resettlement policy of a host country and the acculturative outcomes of the Lhotshampa community has not been analysed. Furthermore, there is a gap in existing literature examining how notions of identity among the Lhotshampa are influenced by resettlement in Australia. In what ways do their already hybrid Hindu/Christian/Buddhist Nepali-Bhutanese identities transform when being confronted with primarily secular Western culture? Finally, hardly any literature exists on the resettlement of elderly refugees in Australia, except for medical and health-related studies, possibly because most refugee groups do not contain a large proportion of elderly people. This study, being the first comprehensive study conducted on the Lhotshampa in Australia, examines these areas – among others - in order to add to existing knowledge and help improve future resettlement policies for the Lhotshampa and other refugee groups in Australia.

There are certain categories of literature on the Lhotshampa that I have not included in this review. Firstly, as mentioned earlier, several articles that explore mental and physical illnesses among the Lhotshampa, such as post-traumatic stress syndrome, depression, the consequences of malnutrition etc have been written by psychiatrists and medical specialists. As these reports are mostly of a purely medical nature and require specialised knowledge, they have not been included here. Additionally, there is a body of work published by the

UNHCR, Amnesty International and other aid agencies, consisting mostly of reports detailing administrative and logistical data from the refugee camps, and information on the planned resettlement to third countries. Again, while some of the statistical data has been useful, most of the content in these reports is not relevant for this study.

Throughout this review certain concepts like acculturation, integration and cultural community have been used. These terms will be discussed in the following chapter 'key concepts'. Last, while the existing literature on the Lhotshampa in Australia is scarce, there is an abundance of literature on other refugee groups. I discuss some of the relevant literature for this study in chapter four, which provides an overview of current resettlement policy in Australia.

Chapter 3 - Key concepts

Globalisation, with its increase of information exchange and mass migration, has facilitated a hitherto unseen level, in both speed and scale, of cultural contact and cultural flow (Eller 2015, 41). This is the reason why contemporary cultures have sometimes been described as 'deterritorialised' (Malkki 1992, 24, Gupta and Ferguson 1992, 10). Millions of people are on the move at any given time, some migrating voluntarily, others being forced to flee, taking their cultural artefacts and traditions with them, and transforming the places they resettle in into multicultural societies (Gupta and Ferguson 1992, 9). Cultures and peoples, however persistent they may be, cease to be plausibly identifiable as spots on the map (ibid., 10).

This new reality of fragmented identities and cultural relativism has given rise to the development of new theoretical paradigms. Paradigms of the last century were largely based on the idea of stable, bounded cultures that could be clearly located on the map (Malkki 1992, 34, Appadurai 1988, 39). Whilst this essentialist viewpoint has always been questionable, globalisation has clearly eradicated any illusion of stability (Clifford 1997, 7). Some scholars predicted that cultural differences would eventually vanish through the homogenising powers of globalisation (Appadurai 1996, 11, Clifford 1988, 16). However, postmodern reality appears to be more complex:

> Globalization is framed … as sets of uneven, contradictory, confused and uncertain processes which in their complexity and heterogeneity can make a mockery of the usual analytical binaries, such as universalization/particularization, homogenisation/differentiation, centralization/decentralization, and stability/instability, which are deployed in discussions of most global transformations. (Rattansi 1994, 27)

Or, as James Clifford (1988, 16) stated: "Many traditions, languages, cosmologies, and values are lost, some literally murdered; but much has simultaneously been invented and revived in complex, oppositional contexts. If the victims of progress and empire are weak, they are seldom passive."

In the following sections I aim to outline current academic discussion, or the 'modern' take on old paradigms of the concepts relevant to this study: integration, culture, mechanisms of cultural change, ethnic identity, cultural identity, and identity in its connection to hybridity.

The following sections provide an overview and working definition of each concept, but as the Lhotshampa are the focus of this study, the discussion of the concepts is not exhaustive.

Integration

What is integration?

Integration is a broad concept that differs in meaning from nation to nation and in different groups (Castles et al. 2002, 113). A common understanding of integration is that of a one-way process: newcomers are expected to adjust and adapt to the host society, and discard elements of their cultural identity where needed. In the case of refugees, this assimilationist implication has led many professionals working with refugees to avoid the term altogether (ibid., 114).

In Australia, the term 'integration' has been replaced with the term 'settlement' for the same reason[4] (Piper 2001, 20). Another common criticism of the concept asks "integration into what?", implying that if there is no homogeneous receiving culture in a host society, as is so often the case with modern multicultural western societies, to what are immigrants and refugees meant to adapt? Furthermore, it is difficult to assess and measure 'successful' integration: refugee communities and host societies vary greatly, and so does the integration process. Some groups arrive with previous education and good English, while others are illiterate. And while some receiving countries have a large range of well-equipped service provision for refugees and migrants, others lend hardly any support, resulting in very different outcomes.

Recent attempts at defining integration are often based on Berry's much cited work, in which he suggests that migration outcomes can be measured by examining two parameters: the degree of participation in the host society and the degree of retaining one's cultural identity. Combined, these parameters form four distinct combinations of what Berry calls 'acculturation[5] strategies':

[4] While the term integration seems to be frequently used in academia, it has been replaced by 'settlement' in all Australian policy documents and language connected with refugees. To avoid confusion, both terms will be used interchangeably in the following sections.

[5] Acculturation is discussed in detail later in this chapter, but the following definition outlines the core meaning of the concept which is sufficient for this section: acculturation is understood as an act of cultural change, caused by the ongoing interaction between two distinct cultural communities (Berry 1992, 69, Ward, Bochner, and Furnham 2005, 239).

- Assimilation: The group gives up its cultural identity and merges into the host society;
- Integration: The group retains its cultural identity while participating in the host society;
- Segregation/separation (depending on who initiates the separation/segregation): the group retains its cultural identity, but does not take part in the wider society (Berry 1992, 72);
- Marginalisation: The group loses its cultural identity, but does not participate in the host society. It withdraws or is excluded (ibid., 73).

Thus, according to Berry, integration happens when a refugee group is able to maintain its cultural traditions and identity while participating fully in the wider society. When a nation follows this acculturation strategy, most likely several groups of ethnic[6] minorities will emerge (ibid. , 72). However, through mutual contact with the host culture and people, acculturation will occur in both groups, with the minority adapting more than the host (ibid., 70). Naturally the extent of cultural change differs from individual to individual, and from group to group. According to Berry, the least amount of conflict between host and minority occurs when both choose the same acculturation strategy (ibid., 74). What Berry fails to address, however, is to what extent the host and the acculturating group can actually 'choose' a strategy. The host country might pursue a certain agenda politically, but the transfer from policy to everyday reality is not necessarily smooth or guaranteed, for example if certain areas or structures within the society do not embrace these policies. In some countries, where integration is the chosen government policy, public opinion differs, resulting for example in high levels of discrimination in the workplace (Vedder and Virta 2005, 319). Or, while integration is pursued officially, the underlying desired outcome is that of assimilation, in which case a refugee group's cultural maintenance will not have the same positive effect (Ward 2013, 400). In some cases, certain aspects of a migrant group's cultural heritage, for example food or festivals, may be accepted, while other aspects are undesirable, for example affiliation with certain religious groups and practices. It is therefore important for governments to develop clear and detailed strategies of desired outcomes and articulate and implement them accordingly (Ager and Strang 2008, 177, Ward 2013, 399). Nevertheless, integration, where it is an outcome and not just a strategy, seems to have the most beneficial results for refugees, both socioculturally and psychologically (Ward, Bochner, and Furnham 2005, 241, Berry 1997, 25). On a

[6] Ethnicity is discussed in detail later in this chapter.

psychological level, the benefits of integration include “lower levels of acculturative stress and greater subjective well-being, better health, higher self-esteem, lower levels of identity conflict, more positive emotions”, and more (Ward 2013, 392). Vedder and Virta in their study of Turkish immigrant youth describe integration as the “most adaptive mode of acculturation and the most conducive to the immigrants’ well-being, while marginalisation is the worst” (Vedder and Virta 2005, 318).

Some scholars have taken Berry’s concept of integration and developed it further towards a more holistic approach, suggesting regarding integration as a two-way process between the host and the migrants (Castles et al. 2002, Piper 2001, Valtonen 2004), whereby both parties share the responsibility for creating a positive outcome. While immigrants are expected to adjust to their new environment, the host society has to prepare itself too: facilities have to be created and support services trained in order to provide the newcomers with the tools they need to settle successfully (Castles et al. 2002, 113, Berry 1997, 10-1). Some scholars suggest that the parameters to measure successful integration should not only consider external factors like employment and housing rates, but should also take into account the subjective feelings of refugees about their integration (Johnston, Vasey, and Markovic 2009, 194, Piper 2001, 20)[7]. Thus, newer approaches tend to emphasise the importance of collaboration between service providers and refugees. As refugee groups vary significantly in their demographic composition and cultural background, the best integration strategy is most likely developed in consultation with the refugee communities.

Taking everything into account, integration can be seen as the process whereby a host society supports and enables refugee communities to gain the tools to participate fully in the wider society, while tolerating and potentially actively promoting the preservation of the refugees’ cultural identity. The refugees, on the other hand, have the responsibility to learn and culturally adjust to the extent that they are able to ‘fit in’ and participate; however, they are free to retain their cultural identity. Integration is thus a two-way process, where both parties collaborate to find the best suitable integration strategy. Indicators for successful integration need to be developed in relation to this strategy and assessed not against a set of essentialist

[7] Australia has implemented this by including refugees’ feelings of well-being and satisfaction with life in Australia as parameters in assessing its integration policies (Fozdar and Hartley 2013, 2)

parameters, but in relation to the current situation of both the refugee community and the host society (Castles et al. 2002, 131). The following definition provides a good outline:

> If refugees are able to participate in the host economy in ways commensurate with their skills and compatible with their values; if they attain a standard of living which satisfies culturally determined minimum requirements (standard of living is taken here as meaning not only income from economic activities, but also access to amenities such as housing, public utilities, health services, and education); if the socio-cultural change they undergo permits them to maintain an identity of their own and adjust psychologically to their new situation; if standards of living and economic opportunities for members of the host society have not deteriorated due to the influx of refugees; if friction between host population and refugees is not worse than within the host population itself; and if the refugees do not encounter more discrimination than exists between groups previously settled within the host society: then refugees are truly integrated (Kuhlman 1991, 8).

Culture and mechanisms of cultural change

"Culture is the original mind virus, the one that makes all other idea-transmission possible" (Eller 2015, 1). Culture is a widely contested concept, not only in cultural anthropology, but also in other disciplines. One of the earliest definitions saw culture as "that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society." (Tylor 1958 [1871], 3) Franz Boas was the first to describe culture as a group phenomenon without ascribing it essential value or a place in the hierarchy of other cultures, as the evolutionists had done previously, with Western civilisation being at the top of the ladder. According to Boas, each culture has its own value standards and cannot be measured from outside its boundaries. As such, Boas was the first to propose an idea of cultural relativism (Bolaffi 2003, 62):

> It is somewhat difficult for us to recognize that the value which we attribute to our own civilization is due to the fact that we participate in this civilization, and that it has been controlling all our actions since the time of our birth; but it is certainly conceivable that there may be other civilizations, based perhaps on different traditions and on a different equilibrium of emotion and reason which are of no less value than ours, although it may be impossible for us to appreciate their values without having grown up under their influence. The general theory of valuation of human activities, as taught by anthropological research, teaches us a higher tolerance than the one that we now profess. (Boas 1901, 289)

Similar to race, culture, while being inherently value free, has often been used as a means to create 'the other'. For example, culture was utilised in this way in the movement of cultural

determinism, which suggests that people belonging to a culture have no choice but to think and behave in the way that culture dictates. Another characteristic that creates dichotomies is a culture's perceived boundedness. By defining what one culture is and what it is not, cultures can make themselves open to comparison with other cultures and thus to ascribe inferiority or superiority. However, how far valid judgment could ever be made on the 'worth' of another culture is questionable.

The culture that analyses another culture must also come under scrutiny, in the knowledge that some of its constructs may not be positive or even logical. The question remains whether there are any standards by which to measure the value of cultures, morals, etc. that apply to all people universally (Bolaffi 2003, 63).

Recent attempts at defining culture have done so by outlining a range of characteristics of culture rather than providing an ideal type definition. Eller, for example, has developed a comprehensive list of key features of culture:

- Culture is acquired, or learned, through interaction with other members of the same group in a process that cultural anthropologists call enculturation[8];
- Culture is a phenomenon that is shared between members of a group/society, not an individual characteristic;
- Culture is communicated through symbols which carry meaning that is not inherent, but has been ascribed through members of that group (Eller 2015, 26).
- Culture is a complex system of numerous interrelated parts such as institutions (religion, politics, economy, kinship), values and ways to behave, which all interact and affect each other; thus culture is integrated; and
- Culture is not static but is continuously reinvented and newly represented by its members. Culture is a process (ibid., 28).
- Culture is adaptive; People can adjust to changing environments by adapting their behaviour. Culture is the result of a people's adjustment to their environment (Eller 2013, 26)

[8] Enculturation is commonly understood as "the process by which a person learns or acquires his or her culture, usually as a child" (Eller 2013, 21). This process is also often called socialisation (ibid., 21).

Haviland et al., in almost identical fashion, list the following common characteristics: Culture is learned, shared, based on symbols, integrated, and dynamic (Haviland et al. 2014, 28-36).

> The breadth and depth of every culture is remarkable. It includes what people do for a living, the tools they use, the ways they work together, how they transform their environments and construct their dwellings, what they eat and drink, how they worship, what they believe is right or wrong, what gifts they exchange and when, who they marry, how they raise their children, how they deal with misfortune, sickness, death, and so on. (Haviland et al. 2014, 34)

Peoples and Bailey suggest that the culture of a group "consists of shared, socially learned knowledge and patterns of behavior" (Peoples and Bailey 2011, 23), thus taking a similar approach to Eller, yet without including the processual and adaptive nature of culture. They define cultural knowledge as the "information, skills, attitudes, conceptions, beliefs, values, and other mental components of culture that people socially learn during enculturation" (ibid., 22).

The discussion of culture of the past decades has debunked previous theories of culture as being an essential, or inherent part of certain peoples or places (Eller 2015, 29, Appadurai 1988, 39). Instead, culture is now seen as something that is created through the meaningful practices of its members, while being open to transformation when confronted with other peoples' meaningful practices (Bhabha 1990, 211).

Culture is adaptive and in a constant process of transformation. Cultural anthropologists have identified a range of mechanisms how these adaptations or changes take place, which I discuss in the next section.

Mechanisms of cultural change

Innovation

Innovation happens when a new idea, artefact or method is created, or an existing one modified, through necessity or accidental discovery (Haviland et al. 2014, 350). How inventions are integrated depends on the group's cultural makeup. Some ideas, for example, might be rejected because they oppose the existing worldview of the group (ibid., 351).

Diffusion

Diffusion denotes the process whereby elements from one cultural group enter other cultural groups. This process is not linear, however, but happens in a negotiated and complex way;

some people integrate the new element, while others do not, or they adopt elements partly (Eller 2015, 41, Hall 2008, 352). The acquired elements are often modified to suit the new group's needs (Haviland et al. 2014, 352). When two cultures have continuous contact, but one group proves to be significantly more powerful than the other, the exchange of cultural elements becomes unbalanced. The less powerful group is likely to adopt many more elements from its powerful neighbour, and not always voluntarily (Eller 2015, 42).

Cultural loss

Common practices or ideas are abandoned, sometimes through being replaced by innovations, at other times without substitutes (Haviland et al. 2014, 354).

Syncretism/hybridity

When new and old elements are blended, cultural syncretism occurs, or a hybrid culture is created (Eller 2015, 44). Homi Bhabha developed the concept of hybridity, as a reaction to traditional discourses that saw cultures as bounded and with stable identities (Huddart 2006, 6). Hybridity denotes how identities, individual or cultural, are always already 'mixed'. They are products of continuous interactions with the environment. However, Bhabha also emphasises how hybridity is not so much a result, but a continuous process which he calls hybridisation (ibid., 7). He states "Hybridity is … the third space, which enables other positions to emerge. […] The process of cultural hybridity gives rise to something different, something new and unrecognizable, a new area of negotiation of meaning and representation" (Bhabha 1990, 211).

Bhabha sees individual cultures as the product of people's collective efforts to create boundaries, to stop the ongoing transformation of one's society through interaction with others. He suggests focusing on the liminal, on that which is between cultures, in the area where one ends and the other starts. The liminal shows that cultures are neither spatially bounded, nor are they at different evolutionary stages, which clearly eradicates assumptions of cultural purity or superiority. Hence liminality can be seen as the counteraction to 'othering', a process which, Bhabha states, was often used by ruling elites in the West's colonial past, but is still popular in the current political arena (Huddart 2006, 8). The mechanisms behind hybridisation depend on both the cultural makeup of the groups as well as their relationship with each other, which means that the type, frequency and amount of cultural exchange can vary significantly.

While I have discussed culture and cultural change so far in general terms, in the following section I aim to explore processes of cultural adjustment in multicultural societies, that is, where we can find an overarching dominant culture that governs the public domain, and a range of cultural subgroups that retain their cultural identity in the private domain. In this context, the concepts multicultural society, acculturation, and acculturative negotiation are relevant.

Multicultural societies

Multicultural societies are those societies, or segments of societies "in which - for political, economic or social reasons – groups of different cultures originally formed independently of each other owing to historical or geographical factors, have come to cohabit. As such, multiculturalism may be the sociocultural manifestation of multiethnicity" (Bolaffi 2003, 184).

However, a multicultural society needs to be distinguished from a plural society. In a plural society multiple nations coexist in a state, each more or less following their own sets of rules (Haviland et al. 2014, 32-3). In a multicultural society, on the other hand, there exists an overarching dominant culture that governs the public domain (law, politics, economics and education), while cultural diversity is found in the private domain. Religious and moral beliefs, as well as primary socialisation, belong in the private domain, enabling cultural minorities to maintain a sense of belonging and identity in an otherwise foreign environment (Rex 1997a, 218-9). When transferred to policy, Haviland et al. suggest that multicultural policies should "assert the value of different cultures coexisting within a country, stressing reciprocal responsibility of all citizens to accept the rights of others to freely express their views and values" (Haviland et al. 2014, 377).

While the separation into public domain and private domain generally functions well, difficulties can arise, for example if religious traditions or family customs go against the law. Multicultural societies also need to establish to what extent they want to actively promote cultural diversity, for example by providing financial support for projects such as language schools etc. (Rex 1997b, 280). It is not yet clear whether the active promotion of cultural diversity is beneficial for minority groups. Bolaffi, for example, argues that active promotion of cultural traditions may reiterate the cultural boundaries between the host and the migrant group, which can result in negative effects for the latter (Bolaffi 2003, 184). Additionally, even where multiculturalism is openly promoted and facilitated by the government, there are

regularly fractions of the public who will discriminate against and be suspicious or hostile of minority groups (Rex 1997b, 282).

Acculturation

In its most neutral definition, acculturation denotes the process of cultural change as a result of continuous contact between two cultures, or, as Eller (2013, 231) states:

> Acculturation is the process of culture change that occurs as a result of intense and sustained contact between two societies. Whenever there is such contact, there is going to be a circulation or flow of culture … between the two societies.

However, the term acculturation is sometimes used in a way that implies involuntary adaptation or even forced assimilation of a subordinate group to the culture of the dominant group, whereby the dominant group's culture changes only superficially or not at all, and the subordinate group has no choice but to adjust culturally in order to survive next to its powerful neighbour.

> Under the sway of powerful outsiders – and unable to resist imposed changes and obstructed in carrying out many of their own social, religious, and economic activities – subordinated groups are forced into new social and cultural practices that tend to isolate individuals and destroy the integrity of their traditional communities. (Haviland et al. 2014, 356)

Acculturation can thus be both the result of force or coercion, which is called forced or repressive acculturation, or a process that happens naturally and voluntarily (Eller 2013, 231). Depending on the degree of exchange between the two groups, the dominant and the subordinate group, we speak of reciprocal acculturation (both groups are open to adapt new elements as well as 'export' elements from their own culture) or asymmetrical acculturation (here the dominant group transfers its own cultural traits while adopting no or hardly any new elements itself) (Bolaffi 2003, 1). However, in most cases the less powerful group will adopt more cultural elements and change to a larger extent than the dominant group (Eller 2013, 231).

Acculturation, while being a group phenomenon, is itself variable. That means there are different degrees of cultural change/maintenance depending on the context. Often we find a distinction between private and public spheres, or private and public social circles, with more

cultural maintenance occurring in the private sphere (Berry 1997, 12). Also, individuals differ greatly in their adaptation to the changes on group level (ibid., 7).

This said, Berry has developed a comprehensive overview of the various factors that influence acculturation, which all need to be taken into account in order to gain a deep understanding of the mechanisms within groups (ibid., 16):

In terms of the acculturating group, important factors influencing the process are the group's background (cultural, economic, political situation of the homeland), as well as people's 'capital', i.e. their status, age, education, gender and so on. The host country, on the other hand, influences acculturation through the facilities and support it provides, but also through its attitude towards cultural diversity; even though there is rarely one singular national 'attitude' towards cultural diversity (ibid., 15). One of the most important factors is cultural distance. According to Berry, the greater the cultural distance, the greater the difficulties during acculturation, not only because migrants have to adjust culturally and socially to a greater extent, but also because a great cultural gap might trigger hostility and discrimination from the host population (ibid., 23). In most cases, the cultural changes in migrant groups are immense and spread through all areas of people's lives (ibid., 17).

There are various ways in which acculturation happens among groups and individuals. Kim and Hurh, for example, have identified five different modes of 'acculturative negotiation' among migrant groups. They are similar to the mechanisms of cultural change that I discussed earlier, but more fitting in an acculturative context:

- Replacement: A traditional cultural element or pattern is replaced with a new one, and the traditional element is abolished;
- Addition: Traditional cultural elements are retained while new ones are acquired. People may choose to use either depending on the context (for example language);
- Blending: Traditional and new cultural elements are 'blended' into new hybrid forms;
- Attachment: elements of the old culture are strictly preserved; new ones are rejected;
- Marginalisation: loss or weakening of old elements, but no acquisition of new elements; (Kim and Hurh 1993, 700-1)

Ethnic identity vs cultural identity

In the last century, many people, including scholars, thought that ethnic belonging and ethnic groups were a phenomenon of the past and would eventually vanish through the forces of homogenisation in our increasingly globalised world. As with cultural difference, the opposite has come true. Ethnic identity is regularly at the core of group conflicts all over the world and thus remains an important political issue (Eller 1999, 2). The modern trend towards multiculturalism, which is meant to put an end to ethnic conflict, has sometimes had the opposite effect: it can encourage ethnic groups to reify their differences by actively supporting cultural distinctiveness. Modern reality is, according to Young, very complex. Different cultures mix with each other in a multitude of ways, through "contact, intrusion, fusion and disjunction." (Young 2005, 4)

The meaning of ethnic identity, however, remains both broad and vague; it is used for a wide range of diverging but related phenomena. Ethnic groups can vary, for example, in their unifying principles, in their goals, in their political mobilisation, and in their justification. (Eller 1999, 7). Also, the members of ethnic groups often differ, both in their relation to other members and in their sense of belonging to the group. Another difficulty is the connection between ethnic identity and culture; an ethnic group can constitute a cultural group, but does not have to. There are ethnic groups that share the same culture as others, and culturally distinct groups that do not form ethnic groups (Eller 1999, 8).

In the following I provide an overview of key ideas surrounding ethnic groups, leading to the suggestion of some key characteristics of ethnic groups:

Max Weber was one of the first to use the term ethnic to describe groups that use the belief in a common origin as a means to create a social group.

Ethnic groups are those

> that entertain a subjective belief in their common descent because of similarities of physical type or of customs or both, or because of memories of colonization and migration; this belief must be important for the propagation of group formation; conversely, it does not matter whether or not an objective blood relationship exists. (Weber 1978 [1968], 389)

Even though Weber was one of the first scholars to use the term ethnic, he pointed out that the common denominator for the group need not be based on a real bond, but can be a

perceived connection instead (Weber 1978, 21). However, for Weber, the crucial connection for ethnic groups was built around the belief in a common descent, which, as we will see, later studies refuted.

A later development in defining ethnic identity saw the emergence of the primordialists, who believed that ethnic groups contain certain essential and unchangeable features (Spencer 2014, 99). At their most radical, primordialist theorists supported the idea that the members of ethnic groups share genetic characteristics that determine their behaviour. The more moderate primordialists suggested that ethnic groups define themselves through kinship and shared values and traditions, or also, for example, through a combination of "blood, religion, custom and belief become ineffable and have a deeper psychological effect on members of the group" (ibid., 98).

Geertz (1963, 109), in primordialist fashion, described ethnic identity as a form of social identity that people acquire at birth:

> These congruities of blood, speech, custom and so on, are seen to have an ineffable, and at times overpowering, coerciveness in and of themselves. One is bound to one's kinsman, one's neighbour, one's fellow believer ipso facto, as the result not merely of personal attraction, tactical necessity, common interest or incurred moral obligation, but at least in great part by virtue of some unaccountable absolute import attributed to the very tie itself.

Durkheim saw ethnic identity as the expression of social ties, formed through the proximity of a community. Ethnic identity, in his sense, is ongoing and irreducible (and thus primordial) even if it is not in the best interest of the individual.

Common criticisms of the primordial theory bring forward the argument that ethnic identities are not stable, as they would be if they were based on essential or even genetic material. Instead, they are continuously renegotiated. However, Hall suggests that an essentialist view of identity is seductive for many, as it reinforces strict boundaries between groups, allowing people to feel a strong sense of 'us against them'.

Instrumentalism, on the other hand, sees ethnic identity as a strategy utilised by groups to achieve political, economic or other goals. Ethnic identity is thus instrumentalised in a rational, pragmatic manner to fulfil the group's aims (Spencer 2014, 100). However, this does not explain why ethnic groups seem to continue over generations, and it also neglects the

symbolic meaning and strong sense of belonging that ethnic identity can create in and for its members (ibid., 101).

Another approach that emphasises the boundary creating nature of ethnic identity (Eller 2013, 113) was developed by Fredrik Barth, who saw ethnic identity as a form of social organisation based on the group's origin and background:

> By concentrating on what is socially effective, ethnic groups are seen as a form of social organisation. The critical feature then becomes … the characteristic of self-ascription and ascription by others. A categorical ascription is an ethnic ascription when it classifies a person in terms of his basic, most general identity, presumptively determined by his origin and background. To the extent that actors use ethnic identities to categorize themselves and others for purposes of interaction, they form ethnic groups in this organizational sense. (Barth 1969, 13-4)

This does not imply that the group is culturally homogeneous; it only identifies the members of one group as having a common origin and as using this origin to mark the boundaries of the group (ibid., 11). So, even if the group changes, or the cultural features that distinguish members from non-members change, the boundary between the community and outsiders can be maintained, on one hand through careful organisation of access to non-members, and on the other hand through each member's identification with the ethnic group, no matter how diverse the group might be (ibid., 15-6).

Stuart Hall was one of the first to separate a group's identity from its origins. According to Hall a group's identity can be based on any of the group shared markers, for example, a common language, ethnic background, and/or religion. The combination and hierarchy of these markers constitutes the group's identity, which Hall termed its "master-identity". According to Hall, the master-identity unites the group, even if there are conflicting currents and diverse backgrounds within the group (Hall 1992, 280). However, Hall's master-identity differs slightly from Barth's ethnic identity, in that we find no mobilisation of boundaries in Hall's use of the concept. Therefore Hall's master-identity is potentially more suitable to describe cultural groups than ethnic groups, as we will see in the final paragraph of this section.

Current academic discussion has discarded the common belief that ethnic groups are built on the basis of a common origin; instead, scholars seem to agree that any cultural or historic

feature can be used to articulate ethnic belonging (Appadurai 1996, 13); nevertheless, according to Eller, all ethnic groups mobilise some sort of connection to the past.

> Thus, the language the group has always spoken, the religion it has always followed or that it converted to at some ancient time, the customs, the clothes, the stories and music, the values and morals – these things are effective identifiers and legitimizers of the group. An ethnic group without a memory of its cultural past and without some continuity with that past into present behaviour or identity or ideology is, by definition, virtually unthinkable. (Eller 1999, 29)

Groups may choose different markers at different times "from religion at one stage to language in another to class or what have you" (ibid., 9). What cultural markers are chosen to create an ethnic identity depends on the group's history and socio-cultural make-up as well as that of the dominant society (Gupta and Ferguson 1992, 16). Any exploration of these markers must take the respective historical situation into account. For migrants, the 'lost homeland' frequently becomes a powerful tool of unification, resulting in the creation of diasporas across the globe (ibid., 11).

Eller emphasises the importance of the mobilisation of difference in terms of ethnic groups, and thereby integrates Barth's theory that ethnic groups are a form of social organisation that uses shared markers to create group identity and boundaries to other groups. According to Eller, cultural difference does not automatically create ethnic groups. Only when cultural differences are articulated and mobilised to unite the group under a common identity can we speak of an ethnic group.

> Ethnicity and mobilization as an ethnic group require a certain consciousness of difference, a certain objectification of culture and cultural difference, and a certain "distance" – cognitive if not temporal – from culture, a certain reflexive relation with one's own culture. People who live their culture unproblematically tend not to be ethnic in the proper sense of the word (Eller 1999, 11).

Thus, an important characteristic of ethnic groups is its mobilisation of a shared trait or traits. In that sense Stuart Hall's concept of a master-identity does not denote a group's ethnic identity, but rather its cultural identity.

Another important characteristic is that ethnic groups only exist in relation to others, otherwise the mobilisation of difference would be nonsensical (ibid., 13). Ethnic groups exist in a field of constant dialogue and exchange (Bolaffi 2003, 95). They negotiate their

boundaries, transform their values, discard old cultural elements and acquire new ones (ibid., 98). Ethnic groups also differ in how they utilise their ethnicity politically. While some groups do not capitalise on their ethnic belonging, others use it to pursue their political, economic or other interests (ibid., 97). What Bolaffi fails to mention, however, is that the degree to which members of a group choose to mobilise their cultural difference politically is bound to vary significantly across individuals. While some may fully support maintaining boundaries to outsiders, others may choose a more socially inclusive approach. Another issue is that these classifications can be harmful to groups when they are confronted with it. It is important to distinguish between the image or identity that outsiders ascribe to a group and the image a group has of itself (Spencer 2014, 55-6).

> Ethnicity, like race, can be an imposed category or, conversely, it can become central to a revolutionary sense of identity in a struggle for independence or political power, or simply a recognition of shared experiences or attributes … Ethnicity, then, can be considered as a transient concept (ibid., 57).

As the above discussion demonstrates, ethnic identity is a complex concept, embracing a wide range of related phenomena. I suggest, in line with Eller's take on the concept, the following key characteristics of ethnic groups, while keeping the aforementioned difficulties in mind:

- Ethnic groups use cultural or historical 'markers' to articulate difference and create an identity and a sense of belonging;
- These markers can be real, or perceived as real, and they may change over time;
- The group's identity or sense of 'us' may be used to set up boundaries against other groups and to define membership;
- Ethnic identity overarches the group's internal diversity; members differ in their sense of belonging to the group;
- Ethnic groups only exist in relation to other groups with whom they constantly interact and negotiate; thus an ethnic group's boundaries are permeable and can change over time;
- Ethnic groups are not automatically defined through cultural difference from other groups; the difference must be mobilized to create a group consciousness;

- The mobilization takes place because ethnic groups pursue a goal (Eller 1999, 14), which may be cultural autonomy (for example for migrant groups), economic benefits, political goals etc.

Thus Eller (2013, 272-3) concludes that "ethnic identity, in short, is a "boundary creating" and "boundary maintaining" phenomenon, which is only necessary or possible when multiple groups share the same social-political space, such as what is commonly found in post-colonial, globalized contexts."

As we have seen, ethnic identity is the mobilisation of cultural difference. Hence, there exists a consciousness in the ethnic group that unites it against outsiders, a certain form of 'othering'. Ethnic groups have a goal. A group's cultural identity, on the other hand, lacks this element of mobilisation, and as such is not instrumental, as is the case in many migrant populations. Thus, groups whose members identify with the same cultural background, or master-identity according to Hall, but who have not mobilised this cultural difference, are better termed cultural groups (Peoples and Bailey 2011, 24).

Identity and hybridity

> Identity is a work in progress, a negotiated space between ourselves and others; constantly being re-appraised and very much linked to the circulation of cultural meanings in a society. Furthermore identity is intensely political. There are constant efforts to escape, fix, or perpetuate images and meanings of others. These transformations are apparent in every domain, and the relationships between these constructions reflect and reinforce power relations. (Spencer and Taylor 2004, 4)

Much current discussion revolves around the concept of identity. In typical postmodern fashion, contemporary identities are described as more "decentred, ambivalent, contradictory, provisional, contextual and de-essentialised" (Bolaffi 2003, 142) than before. Thus the conceptualisation of identities has changed. Where previously people were seen as rational, 'closed' beings, in control of themselves and their environment and with stable identities, contemporary theories point towards the opposite (Hall and du Gay 1996, 3). No longer are people considered 'self-contained'; people identify who they are in relation to other people, often resulting in the creation of dichotomies between us and them, the West and the Orient, white and black etc., and thus in the process of 'othering'; people are also in constant interaction with their environment, assessing themselves and others and

continuously being transformed by their experiences in often uneven, contradictory ways. As such, people are the products of their immediate socio-political, economic and cultural environment (Bolaffi 2003, 142, Hall and du Gay 1996, 4), or as Hall (1992, 277) emphasised: "Within us are contradictory identities, pulling in different directions, so that our identifications are constantly shifting about".

The concept of identity is, in current academic discussion, often connected with hybridity. Hybridity in this context describes the merge of two or more cultural elements, for example the internalisation of a range of cultural influences in a person's identity (Bhabha 1990, 211), or the combination of various cultural elements into a new product, for example in language and literature (Young 2005, 5): "The process of cultural hybridity gives rise to something different, something new and unrecognisable, a new area of negotiation of meaning and representation" (Bhabha 1990, 211).

Stuart Hall, for example, describes the Caribbean people as having internalised elements, or 'presences' from three different cultures: a "*Presence Africaine"*, a "*Presence Europeenne"*, and a "*Presence Americain"* (Hall 1990, 230). This complexity of identity is what constitutes being Caribbean, according to Hall (ibid., 235). Referring to Anderson's 'imagined communities', he asserts that there is no genuineness or falsity when it comes to identity; groups need to be regarded in the way they are imagined (ibid., 237).

> Actually identities are about questions of … becoming rather than being: not 'who we are' or 'where we came from', so much as what we might become, how we have been represented and how that bears on how we might represent ourselves. Identities are therefore constituted within, not outside representation. They relate to the invention of tradition as much as to tradition itself. (Hall and du Gay 1996, 4)

However, any form of closure, or unified identity, can only exist against an 'other'; only through articulating what it is not, can we see what it is. Therefore any construction of identity creates boundaries to those who do not belong and is as such immersed in the "play of power and exclusion" (ibid., 5).

Summary

In this chapter I provided the theoretical basis from which to analyse the integration of the Lhotshampa in Tasmania. I outlined the current discussion on integration and summarised the various ways in which migrating groups can change culturally. I described the complex

relationship between ethnic identity and cultural belonging and how these phenomena can affect the group identity of migrants.

We have seen that the life of migrants in multicultural societies is marked by rupture and change. Identities are 'uprooted' and transformed in the process of creating new lives abroad, and, depending on the situation, people and communities adjust in diverse ways, transforming their cultures and identities in the process.

Having discussed the theoretical framework of this study, in the following chapter I give an overview of the historical and socio-political context from which the findings of this study are to be examined.

Chapter 4 - Setting the scene

In this chapter I deliver an overview of the historical and socio-cultural particularities of the Lhotshampa refugees on the one hand and Australia as receiving nation on the other, thereby providing the context from which to understand and analyse the events of the Lhotshampa's resettlement process in Tasmania. The chapter consists of three parts. In the first part I summarise the history of the Lhotshampa from their arrival in Bhutan until their resettlement to third countries. In the second part I examine Australia's setup as receiving nation of refugees, including existing settlement services in Australia and Tasmania and attitudes of the population towards refugees. In the third and final part I detail the small amount of quantitative data available on the Lhotshampa in Australia and Tasmania.

Part 1 - The Lhotshampa of Bhutan

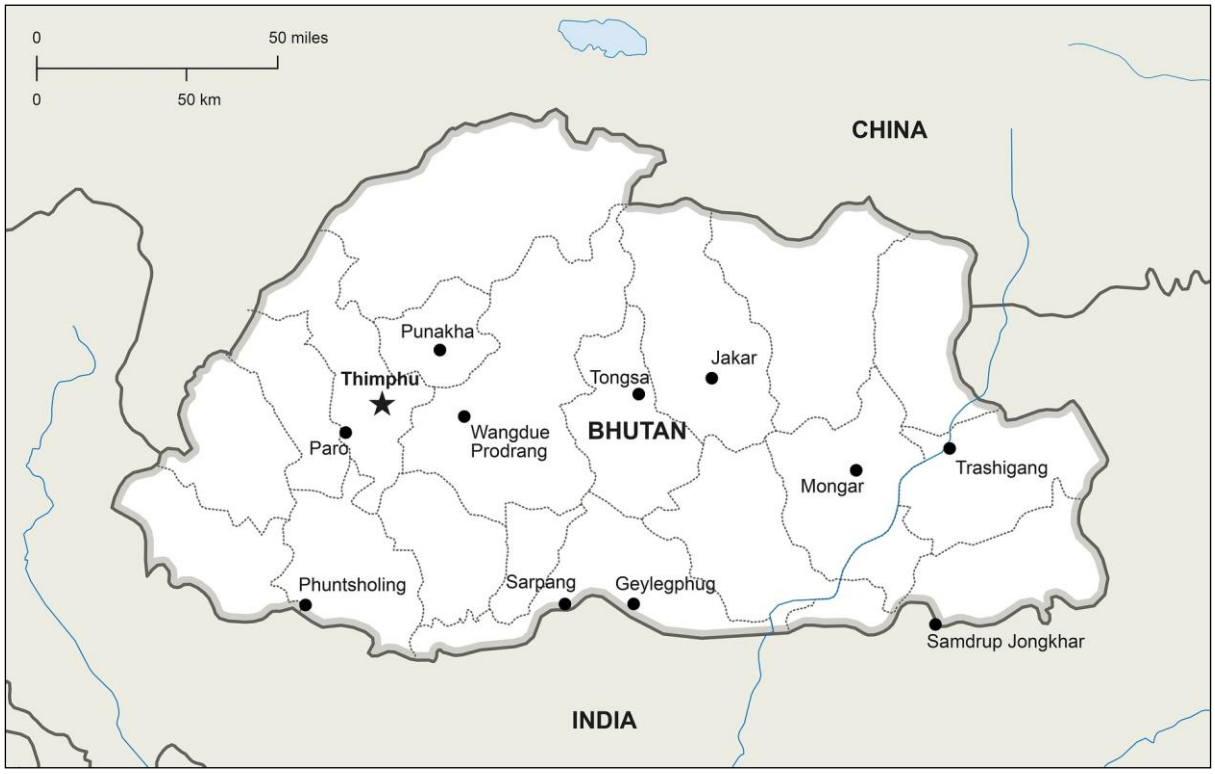
In this first part I provide a brief overview of the history of the Nepali-Bhutanese. I explore how groups of Nepali farmers arrived in Bhutan at the end of the nineteenth century, how they built settlements along the southern border and prospered as a distinct ethnic group, and how political agendas of cultural homogenisation eventually led to the flight of about 80,000 people to refugee camps in Nepal. Outlined next are the conditions of life in the camps and the initiation of the resettlement process into third countries, which has led to the arrival of approximately 2000 Lhotshampa in Tasmania since 2007.

Bhutan overview

Bhutan's government is a Democratic Constitutional Monarchy, with its current head of state being King Jigme Khesar Namgyel Wangchuck (BBC 2014). The nation-state comprises a multitude of distinct tribes and populations, but they are commonly divided into four main ethnic groups: the Ngalong in the west, the central Bhutanese, the Sharchop in the east and the Lhotshampa in the south (Hutt 2005 [2003], 4). The national language is Dzongkha, which is closely related to Tibetan. The Ngalong, the central Bhutanese and the Sharchop are Mahayana Buddhists, while the Nepali-Bhutanese predominantly follow Hinduism. The Bhutanese call themselves Drukpa[9] (ibid., 5), and they call the Nepali-Bhutanese

[9] It is unknown, if the name Drukpa derives from the majority's affiliation with the Drukpa-Kargyü school of Buddhism, or if it is connected to Druk yul, the Dzongkha name for Bhutan, which means 'land of the dragon' (Hutt 2005 [2003], 6, Mathou 2000, 229).

'Lhotshampa', which means 'Southerner'[10]. Bhutan's population was estimated at 600,000 in 1990, with the Nepali-Bhutanese comprising 25-50%[11] of the whole population (ibid., 3). In 2013, the population was estimated at 733,000, with no information given as to the ethnic composition[12] (National Bureau of Statistics Bhutan 2013).



Map 1 - Bhutan. Source: Pixabay image / http://alturl.com/83z96

The Nepalis arrive in Bhutan

Due to an increase in taxes and a shortage of arable land, a number of peasants[13] left Nepal between 1850 and 1900 to seek work in the tea plantations of Darjeeling and Sikkim (Hutt 2005 [2003], 23-24). From there small groups of people trickled across the border into

[10] The Nepali-speaking people living in the south of Bhutan call themselves mostly Nepali-Bhutanese, or Nepali-speaking Bhutanese. However, the name Lhotshampa, or Lhotsampa, is common in current literature, and frequently used by people who are not members of the community. In this study all three terms are used interchangeably.

[11] Due to three separate drafts of citizenship laws, which resulted in the frequent reassessment of the Nepali-Bhutanese citizenship status (genuine Bhutanese, Nepali-Bhutanese, non-national), the total number of the Lhotshampa population can only be estimated.

[12] The CIA world factbook estimates the total of ethnic Nepalese at 35%, the Ngalong at 50% and minority groups at 15% (CIA 2014). For some reason the statistics do not include the Sharchop, even though this population used to constitute the second largest ethnic group in Bhutan – which is why I strongly doubt the CIA's given percentages. I haven't been able to find any reliable sources on the ethnic composition of Bhutan.

[13] I could not find any sources providing an estimate about the total number of peasants leaving Nepal, or arriving in Bhutan.

Bhutan[14]. They met no resistance, as the land in the south was largely uninhabited and the government made no efforts to expel them (Evans 2010, 26). From 1900 onwards, Nepalis were officially recruited to log the southern forests. Once the land was cleared, they were given small acreages to farm (Thinley 1994, 50). It is disputed why the Nepalis only settled in the south although Hutt (2005 [2003], 61) states that the Bhutanese government probably restricted entry into the northern regions. However, this geographical division resulted in the newcomers having almost no contact with the Drukpa population.

Map 2 - Languages spoken in Bhutan. Source: Wikimedia image / http://alturl.com/ns29c. This map indicates the areas of Lhotshampa settlement in the south (labelled Nepali).

During the next decades, the Nepali peasants slowly migrated across the southern regions of Bhutan. According to Hutt, they were mostly ignored by the Bhutanese administration, apart from the annual tax collection. Issues of law and order were dealt with at village level, with the help of locally elected village heads or *mandals* (ibid., 65-6).

One of the Bhutanese refugees that I interviewed used to be the son of a *mandal*:

> When I remember, my father was a village headman, he has to look after 450 houses in the block, yes, they call it block. So he was the village headman for disputes and everything. He has to resolve that things in our house, so when people have some sort of conflict, they will get there and they will start talking to each other, even sometime

[14] These dates are disputed, as no written records exist from that time (Hutt 2005 [2003], 24). The given timeframe is based on the statements of Lhotshampa refugees, who claim to know which ancestor first came to Bhutan and when. Most sources seem to suggest an arrival in the late 19th century (ibid., 26).

> they will quarrel each other and finally my father has to judge who has done something wrong and who is in a problem. So he will then finally "oh you have done this this this and you shouldn't do this, you have done this" … that is the way how it goes. (Bhutanese man, 48)

Taxes had to be paid in cash (Hutt 2005 [2003], 75), while the Drukpa majority traditionally paid in kind[15]. Hutt (2005 [2003], 76) suggests that this sudden influx in cash was the main reason for the government encouraging Nepali peasants to settle in Bhutan, as the nation-state generated only limited revenue at that time. When the first census was carried out in 1969[16], the population of south Bhutan was estimated at 137,518, constituting approximately 15% of the whole (Rose 1977, 40).

The division between north and south

As mentioned above, until modernisation began in 1950-1960 the Lhotshampa had hardly had any contact with the Drukpa majority, due to being geographically segregated. In addition, both groups were divided by their language, religious affiliation and political ideology. The Lhotshampa all spoke Nepali and with a few exceptions no Dzongkha (Rose 1977, 43), and they were predominantly Hindu, with minorities being affiliated to Buddhism and Christianity (Maxym 2010, 6). The Hindu population was divided into the following four castes: Brahmins, Chhetris (Evans 2010, 27), Vaishyas and Sudras, with the Brahmins being at the top of the hierarchy and the Sudras at the bottom (International Organisation for Migration 2008, 4). The northern Drukpa population, on the other hand, supported Mahayana Buddhism. While the Lhotshampa had been influenced by democratic and Marxist ideologies from India, the Drukpa valued their King and monastic institutions (Rose 1977, 46). Being aware of this division, King Jigme Dorje Wangchuck implemented various strategies to integrate the Lhotshampa into the nation.

1952-1972: Integration and modernisation

In 1956 the Royal Civil Service Commission (RCSC) was established, facilitating merit-based employment. Over the following decades many Lhotshampa were given jobs in government administration (Thinley 1994, 56), with some even moving up into high-ranking positions, for

[15] This was changed in 1954 in the wake of a decentralisation policy that attempted to standardise Bhutan's administration.

[16] The results of this first census are questionable, as it was carried out by teachers and students without proper training.

example as members of the National Assembly (Hutt 2005 [2003], 132). The King also allowed for the recruitment of Lhotshampa in the Bhutanese army and police force, of which they would later constitute up to 25 percent.

Other integrative measures included tax-cuts for Lhotshampa farmers (Thinley 1994, 56), one-time lump sum payments for Drukpa-Nepali marriages, as well as the establishment of temples that incorporated both Hindu and Buddhist sections (ibid., 58). In addition, Bhutan's modernisation process was initiated in the southern regions due to the proximity to India[17]. In its wake a number of hospitals and schools were opened, thus significantly improving the living standard for the Lhotshampa (Dhakal and Strawn 1994, 160): "Until 1988 the Southerners received quite a few benefits from facilities in the South, and, even if they were poorer than the Ngalongs of the West, they were relatively satisfied with the attentions and the actions of the government" (ibid., 165).

Another important process was the introduction of Bhutan's first Nationality Law in 1958, which granted citizenship to every Nepali-Bhutanese living in Bhutan at the time. A non-Bhutanese spouse could become a citizen if he/she married a genuine Bhutanese and swore an oath of allegiance to Bhutan. Children of Bhutanese men were automatically granted citizenship. Citizenship by naturalisation was also possible; to be eligible, people had to have resided in Bhutan for ten years, have worked for the government for five years, or have owned agricultural land. These conditions made it possible for future settlers to become Bhutanese citizens as well (Hutt 2005 [2003], 134-5).

1972-1988: Bhutanisation

After King Singye Dorji Wangchuck ascended the throne in 1972, the general attitude towards the Lhotshampa changed significantly. The King proposed an agenda that stipulated the idea of a culturally homogenised Bhutan with a strong national identity (Whitecross 2009b, 76). He was supported by traditionalists within the government, who feared that Bhutan's unique culture was to be eradicated by the growing population of Lhotshampa in the south, a population who until then had made no efforts at assimilation (Thinley 1994, 51-3). They had been integrated into Drukpa society, but they hadn't changed culturally – the Lhotshampa

[17] One example is the construction of a 170km road connecting Thimphu with India's north (Hutt 2005 [2003], 139).

still spoke Nepali and followed Hinduism, and they organised their communities and families according to castes, a custom that was widely frowned upon by the Bhutanese (ibid., 54). Fears of Nepali dominion were further fuelled when Sikkim, a previously independent Buddhist kingdom with close links to Bhutan, was incorporated into India in 1975, due to the influence of the fast growing number of Nepalis in that region (Hutt 2005 [2003], 196). Accordingly, a number of policies were implemented to gradually assimilate the Lhotshampa into the society. Some of the early 'Bhutanisation' policies were officially introduced, but not enforced until 1988[18] . I will restrict myself here to those that initiated large-scaled protest in 1990:

In 1985 the Third Citizenship Act was passed, which overruled every previous Act. To be considered a Bhutanese citizen people now had to have lived in Bhutan in 1958 or before. Every Nepali who had entered Bhutan after 1958 lost their citizenship. Citizenship by naturalisation was possible on condition (among others) that a person had good knowledge of the national language, Dzongkha, both written and spoken. The majority of Lhotshampa were then illiterate, and spoke no Dzongkha at all, so naturalisation was not an option (Strawn 1994, 104). This Act was implemented in the 1988 census, where teams of officers travelled through the southern regions to reassess the numbers of Lhotshampa (ibid., 113), as a response to the claim of the Deputy Home Minister who suspected that over 100,000 illegal Nepali immigrants resided there (Dhakal and Strawn 1994, 186). The Lhotshampa had to provide tax receipts from 1958 or before in order to obtain a Certificate of Origin and thus be declared citizens. This proved difficult for many, as some had moved since 1958 and now had to travel for weeks to obtain those tax receipts, and others had simply misplaced them, considering they were then 30+ years old. Non-Bhutanese spouses of Bhutanese citizens, as well as their children, were frequently declared non-nationals and had to leave the country, splitting families in the process. This procedure caused much anxiety and anger in the south (Strawn 1994, 113-4).

Another major contributor to the unrest of 1990 was the 'One Nation – One People' program, which was implemented between 1988 and 1990. The first step was the introduction of *Driglam Namzha*, which constitutes the Bhutanese code of dress and etiquette. Citizens were

[18] Including the 2nd Citizenship Act in 1977, the Marriage Act of 1980, and *Driglam Namzha* (code of conduct and dress) in 1973 and '78 (Dhakal and Strawn 1994, 174-7).

encouraged to follow this code in order to promote a united national identity. This meant that the Lhotshampa were no longer allowed to wear their traditional Nepali dress in public; instead they had to wear the Bhutanese *bakhu*; in addition, the women had to cut their hair short (Evans 2010, 29). People who were caught not wearing the *bakhu* were fined, or put into prison for one week. The next step was the restriction of the Nepali language; Nepali classes in schools were dropped, and speaking Nepali in public buildings was discouraged. In some districts Dzongkha classes were introduced (Dhakal and Strawn 1994, 206).

> We have two language, we are speaking in Nepali and Drukpa speak in Dzongkha. That's why we're having problems with each other, and even, even when we work in the field we have to speak Dzongkha. And even when we go to the shopping, everywhere, everywhere we have to speak Dzongkha. So most of the people doesn't know how to speak in Dzongkha, that's the problem … and then we want our freedom, we want our religion, yes, and even they doesn't want to do our religion by own, we have to accept, we have to accept their religion … that's what the people doesn't want, we have to keep our own religion. (Bhutanese woman, 46)

Last, the *kirtan sangh* (Hindu devotional singing groups) were made illegal, in order to hinder further spread of Hindu beliefs (Strawn 1994, 121). All of these measures were implemented in order to assimilate the Lhotshampa into Drukpa society.

> The Deputy Home Minister expressed his happiness that the people had now understood the importance of promoting our national identity … He explained that this subject assumed particular significance since some of our ways and practices were identical to the customs and traditions prevailing in other countries and some of our people tend to identify more closely with the people of other countries. In a large country, such diversity would have added colour and character to its national heritage without affecting national security. However, in a small country like ours it would adversely affect the growth of social harmony and unity among the people … (Excerpt from the Resolution of the National Assembly 10/89, cited in Dhakal and Strawn 1994, 202-3)

In reality, the Lhotshampa did not "understand", but became increasingly anxious and discontented, both through the Census of '88, which created uncertainty among the population about their citizenship status and rights to live in Bhutan, and *Driglam Namzha*.

Protests and flight 1989-1992

During 1989 the first groups of Lhotshampa started to leave Bhutan. Most of them were students who crossed the border to organise resistance against the Bhutanisation policy from

Nepal and India. They founded the organisation 'People's Forum for Human Rights' (PFHR) and printed pamphlets under the name 'Bhutan: We Want Justice':

> It is time for us to shout to the power in Thimphu 'Liberty, Equality and Fraternity' and bring down the 'Bastille'. It is time to say ourselves, Bhutanese Nepalese, unite, we have nothing to lose but gain. The hour has struck for the historic conflict. We the Bhutanese Nepalese have a culture we cherish, a language we speak, a dress we wear, a religion we follow. They are all ours. They are part of our identity. We shall not allow any power to take them away from us. We shall resist, we shall fight to the last man of our race all repressive laws intended to wipe out our racial identity … (PFHR pamphlet, cited in Hutt 2005, 200)

The government of Bhutan reacted by having dozens of suspected dissidents arrested and sent to the capital Thimphu for questioning. Rumours of violence and torture spread. When the police started to randomly beat people for not wearing the national dress, hundreds of Lhotshampa fled the country (ibid., 202).

In early 1990 the Bhutanese People's Party (BPP) was established, and it immediately started to organise demonstrations with the help of the Student's Union of Bhutan[19] (ibid., 203). In September and October thousands of Lhotshampa gathered in the southern districts, publicly demanding the reformation of Bhutan's political system and judiciary, change of citizenship laws, freedom in dress, language, and script, and others (ibid., 205). Some of the protesters reportedly wore guerrilla uniforms and were armed with machetes and rifles; others burned piles of national dresses and demolished buildings (Strawn 1994, 125). Although the demonstrators were instructed to march peacefully, some outbursts of violence on both sides occurred (Hutt 2005 [2003], 206-7). Evans (2010, 32) emphasises that tension was created not only by the government's measures, but by the BPP as well; the rebels demanded donations of food, cash and other items from the villagers, and each household had to provide one person to join the party. The peasants were threatened with violence should they not participate in the demonstrations.

> If people did not give donations or take part in the movement, the BPP said that they would shoot them with a gun. But if people did give donations or took part in the movement, then they were targeted by the government. (Interview with a female refugee, 2007, cited in Evans 2010, 32)

[19] Both were Lhotshampa organisations.

After the demonstrations, the Bhutanese government had even more people arrested; many schools and hospitals in the south were closed and developmental projects were abandoned. To gain access to schools or government jobs people now had to produce a 'no objection certificate', which could only be obtained if one had no 'anti-national' members in the family; since the demonstrations every person who could be linked to the BPP or other rebel organisations had been termed anti-national or *ngolop*.

From 1991 onwards the Bhutanese army allegedly forced people to leave by making them sign voluntary emigration forms (ibid., 34); in some cases this was the only way family members could be released from prison.

> In 1990, when this happened, the government doesn't allow to stay there, once we have the political issue, so after that they took my husband in the jail and said … they sent me a letter which said 'within 5 days you leave this country', and then I said, 'ok, I'm ready to leave the country, but you can release my husband, I want to go with my husband together.' And he said 'no, you go with your son, otherwise you will anything happen.' … yes, lots of, most of the people , they get a letter, the police, the army will come at midnight and they will attack. They will do anything to drive them out. They took from the home and took it in the jail, is there nothing, no reason, nothing, they came, they came inside the house and they took, it is very hard to live in Bhutan at that time. (Bhutanese woman, 46)

With the situation becoming increasingly tense, the Lhotshampa started to leave in significant numbers. According to later interviews, the main reasons for leaving Bhutan were persecution by the military, pressure to sign emigration forms, expulsion, being labelled anti-national or non-national, and the avoidance of reimprisonment for released prisoners (Evans 2010, 35).

> At that time I am only 21 … half of the life I spent in the camp. When I came from Bhutan I came with my young son. Three years old young son, my husband took in the jail and he was still in the jail, and I came with my little son … on my own. My mum, dad, yeah, they stay with me in the camp, two days we were walking in the jungle and stay in the jungle, yes, with my little son. On the border we catch the bus, from India way, we come two days by walking, and we stay night, two days in the jungle, and then after that we catch the truck. Yeah, and then we came to Nepal … after four years they release from jail [husband], in … 1994. I went to visit him in 1991, but I could not visit, it was not allowed to visit with me. Just we see very far away and he waved like this and I could not see anything … my elder son told me 'there's Dad, Dad, Dad', and he's crying and I'm crying too, I'm crying every time. And after four years we meet together, even my younger son doesn't know who Dad is. After four years he sees the Dad and then 'who is that, I don't know.' … even I try to see my husband and then we see and my husband has a long beard and … oh my god … and then my husband doesn't know who is my son, he doesn't know which one is it, and after that my father-in-law told that to my younger

> son, 'there's your Dad, go!' and after that my son went there and … they made friends, yeah. (Bhutanese woman, 46)

Life in the refugee camps in Nepal

By 1994 around 87,000 refugees had been registered and settled in seven camps in the southeast of Nepal (Evans 2010, 38). The Nepalese government collaborated with UNHCR and other aid agencies to organise basic housing, health care, food, and sanitary facilities; later, educational institutions were established and community programs developed (Reilly 1994, 131).

> I used to study, like my day starts from 6 o'clock in the morning, wake up, go to tap and get drinking water, like we don't have tap in home, we have to go and queue to get water, another thing after that we had like breakfast, our school starts 8 o'clock in the morning, until 3.30, so from 8 o'clock until 3 o'clock I'm at school, and after that I'm free, I don't have any job, I just play with my mates, you know, so yeah, everyday same. (Bhutanese man, 24)

At first, the Bhutanese government denied that the refugees were genuine Bhutanese. Thinley (1994, 70) - who would later become the first elected prime minister - claimed that many of the citizenship cards, which the camp dwellers used as proof of identity, were forged or had been stolen by dissidents earlier. He suggested that the majority of the camp population was made up of Nepalis, pretending to be Bhutanese and thus gaining access to the camp facilities; after all, these facilities provided a higher standard of living than some of the Nepali population could afford. At the same time, the Nepalese government ascertained that the refugees were not Nepalese, but genuine Bhutanese. To clarify the situation, representatives of both governments established a Joint Verification Committee (JVC), to assess the refugees' status. The screening process finally started in 2001, but progressed slowly; by 2003 only one small camp had been evaluated, with the following results:

1. Bona fide Bhutanese citizens: 2.5 percent
2. Refugees who voluntarily migrated from Bhutan[20]: 70 percent
3. Non-Bhutanese: 24 percent
4. Criminals or anti-nationals: 3 percent

[20] According to Bhutan's Citizenship Act of 1985 a person loses his/her citizenship if he/she leaves Bhutan for more than one year. The refugees therefore had refuted their Bhutanese citizenship (Dhakal and Strawn 1994, 182).

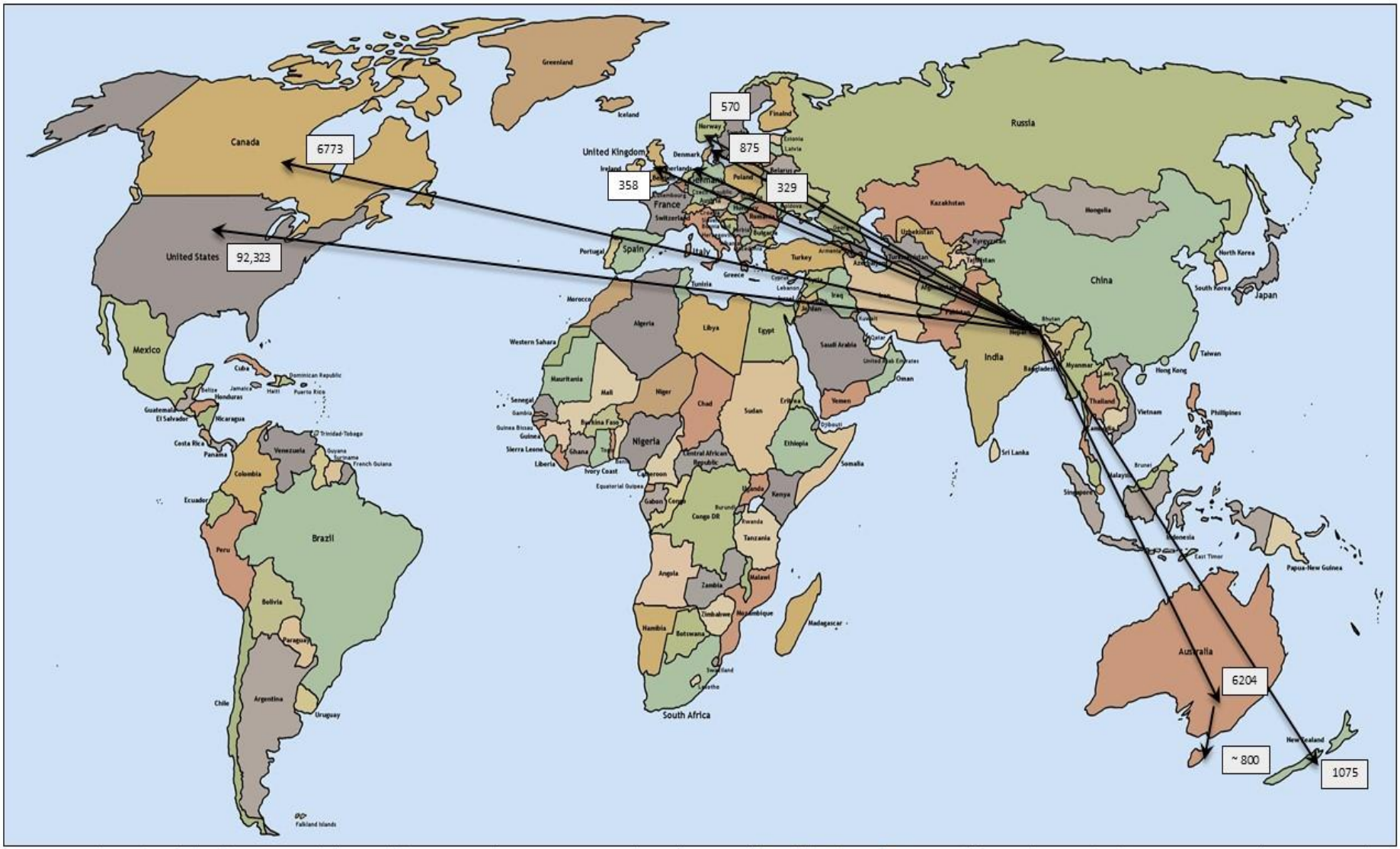
According to these results, only 2.5 percent of the population were eligible to return to Bhutan. The people of category 2 were given the option to re-enter Bhutan on probation for two years, after which they would have to sit a test in order to become lawful citizens. As these tests required very good knowledge of Dzongkha, most people were likely to fail (Amnesty International 2003). The screening process was slowly continued until, in 2006, the Nepalese government agreed to initiate resettlement in third countries, to finally resolve the situation. Although many Lhotshampa welcomed this option and started to fill out resettlement applications immediately, others hesitated out of fear that they would thus forfeit their last chance to return to Bhutan. However, by 2017 the United States had taken 92,323 Lhotshampa, Canada 6,773, Australia 6,204, Denmark 875, New Zealand 1,075, Norway 570, the Netherlands 329 and the United Kingdom 358 (Koirala 2017). Cultural orientation managers were employed to help prepare the Bhutanese for their future life in the various countries[21]. When the resettlement process started in 2007, not one person had returned to Bhutan (Eli 2008). In 2015, around 5000 Bhutanese refugees left Nepal for third countries, while for 2017 UNHCR estimates the resettlement of only around 500 people, as by now almost all Bhutanese have found a new home (UNHCR 2017, 39).

> We doesn't know which country is the good one, but we heard that Australia is a good country, that's why we decided at home with the family 'oh, let's go to the Australia.' Australia is the good country, we heard that, just so we filled out the forms to go to Australia. (Bhutanese woman, 46)

Lhotshampa in Bhutan

According to Kinley Dorji (1994, 84), the majority of Lhotshampa remained in Bhutan (ibid., 81). Between 1990 and 1993 the King granted amnesty to 1,577 prisoners (ibid., 94-95), however, the animosity and mistrust between the Lhotshampa and the northern Drukpa population seems to remain (Bothe 2017, 55). Even though most southern schools and hospitals have been reopened and developmental projects restarted (Dorji 1994, 94-95), modernisation efforts in the south are far behind the remaining districts. Also, poverty levels in the south remain the highest in the country, currently at around 30 percent, while the poverty level in some Western Districts that are mainly inhabited by the Ngalong elite, are below one percent (Bothe 2017, 57).

[21] Based on an interview with an ex-cultural orientation manager who worked in one of the seven camps in Nepal.



Map 3 - Total number of Lhotshampa resettled in each host country by 2017. Source: Wikimedia image / http://alturl.com/fg72m, modification by N. Tobor. (USA 92,323; Canada 6773; Australia 6204; New Zealand 1075; Denmark 875; Norway 570; UK 358; Netherlands 329)

In 2008, the political system in Bhutan changed from a monarchy to a constitutional monarchy, as part of its democratisation process. However, as only university graduates can become elected party members, and as only the two parties who have gained the most votes (both current parties have connections to the royal household) are represented in the government, it is unlikely that the Lhotshampa's interests will be advocated in the near future (Norwegian Refugee Council 2008, 14). Additionally, as the one nation – one people policy is still in place (Schmidt 2017a, 2), and the Bhutanisation of schools and other institutions continues (ibid., 7), the Lhotshampa, even though they constitute about 35 percent of the whole population (Nationsonline n.d.), remain outsiders in Bhutan.

Summary

In the previous section I provided an overview of the history of the Lhotshampa, from their migration to Bhutan and their flight to Nepal until their final dispersal to receiving nations like Australia. In the next section I examine Australia's setup as host nation for refugees.

Part 2 - Australia as receiving nation

According to the latest UNHCR reports, currently more than 20 million people are refugees, and approximately 60 million people are displaced, which "means that one person in every 122 has been forced to flee their home" (Gaynor 2015). Fewer people than in the last 30 years are expected to eventually return to their country of origin (Gaynor 2015). Australia, among a range of other countries, has agreed to resettle a certain number of refugees each year, and provide food and housing, education and other basic necessities for them.

In the next chapter I provide an overview of Australia as a host nation. First, I summarise current immigration facts and figures and explain related terms. Second, I examine Australia's settlement procedures and facilities and, as a result thereof, common experiences of refugees with the current system, both negative and positive. Last, I survey Australia's political approach towards refugees and how it is reflected among the Australian population.

Settlement facts and figures

In Australia, the term 'humanitarian entrants' is used to sum up all those migrant groups who had to leave their homelands involuntarily (Taylor 2004, 17), namely refugees, asylum seekers and those who fall under the Special Humanitarian Program (SHP).

The definition of refugees is based on the 1951 UN Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees:

> A refugee is a person who owing to well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality, and is unable, or owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country; or who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of his former habitual residence as a result of such events, is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it. (Karlsen, Phillips, and Koleth 2011, 25)

Refugees arrive in Australia through the 'offshore program', which means that they have already been recognised as genuine refugees prior to their arrival, commonly through UNHCR. Once in Australia, refugees are given permanent residency status and full access to all services (Taylor 2004, 18).

Asylum seekers, on the other hand, are those who arrive in Australia seeking protection, but whose status is undetermined. The Australian government processes each claim; people whose claim is determined as genuine will henceforth be termed refugees and awarded the same rights as 'offshore' refugees (Karlsen, Phillips, and Koleth 2011, 25). Lastly, people who fall under the SHP (as part of the offshore program) have usually suffered either extensive discrimination or human rights abuses in their home country and can provide a close family member to act as sponsor from within Australia (DIBP 2016b). Combined, the people from the offshore and onshore components make up the total number of humanitarian entrants each year. The National Centre for Longitudinal Data (NCLD) has recently published a comprehensive study under the title 'Building a New Life in Australia: The Longitudinal Study of Humanitarian Migrants' (BNLA) detailing settlement facts and figures of humanitarian entrants. According to the BNLA, 84 per cent of humanitarian entrants entering Australia between May and November 2013 came through the offshore program, and only 16 per cent through the onshore program. The people originated from 35 different countries and spoke 49 different languages at home (Marshall 2015, 1).

Since 1996, Australia's humanitarian intake has remained at a level of approximately 12,000 to 14,000 people per year. As mentioned above, these numbers comprise special humanitarian visas, 'onshore' asylum seekers, and 'offshore' refugees, which generally constitute the majority of the intake (ABC 2015b). In 2014, for example, Australia's overall humanitarian intake was 14,350, of which 11,570 were refugees, and only 2,780 identified as

asylum seekers. While the overall number of asylum seekers is relatively small compared to that of European countries, Australia's refugee intake in 2014 ranked 1st on a per capita basis and 3rd globally (ABC 2015a). In 2015-16, the Australian government topped up its common quota to help alleviate the refugee crisis of Syria and Iraq, and granted an overall of 17,555 humanitarian visas (DIBP 2016a, 4).

One common issue for refugees in Australia is family separation, and many wish to reunite with family members who are still residing in the refugees' country of origin (Refugee Council of Australia 2015, 1). Australia has two main schemes under which refugees or people with SHP (Special Humanitarian Program) status can apply for family reunification, either via the SHP or via the family stream of the migrant program. As the latter is more difficult and costly for refugees, most people apply via the SHP program. The family reunification program under SHP has so far been coupled with Australia's onshore protection program, which means that every time an asylum seeker is granted a protection visa, there is one less place available in the family reunification scheme. This leads to a significant backlog of applications, resulting in drawn out application processing times of several years (ibid., 2).

The Lhotshampa have refugee or SHP status when they arrive in Australia. They are given permanent residency upon arrival and are immediately granted full access to all existing services. In the following sections I provide an overview only of existing facilities and services for offshore humanitarian entrants, not asylum seekers.

Australia's settlement services

The Department of Social Services and the Department of Immigration and Border Control are the main government departments overseeing settlement services and policies through the 'Integrated Humanitarian Settlement Strategy', which offers intensive support for humanitarian entrants in their first five years of settlement. While the funding is provided by the Government, the service provision is usually outsourced to private organisations and NGOs (DHHS 2010, 4). Funding for the different existing programs is not always guaranteed, as the programs are often in competition with each other and the overall number of grants is limited (Taylor 2004, 23).

After arrival

For the first 6 to 12 months after their arrival, refugees are entered into the HSS (Humanitarian Settlement Services) scheme. The HSS is usually outsourced to NGOs or charities. The HSS is responsible for the provision of

> Reception and assistance on arrival (meeting at the airport, taking to accommodation, assisting with accommodation costs, orientation, and emergency medical and clothing assistance); information and referrals (to government agencies that provide income support, health care, English language classes, and employment services), housing services (help finding suitable housing; assistance with leasing; and connection to services like electricity, gas, and the telephone; provision of household goods such as a refrigerator, washing machine, TV, and beds; information about household care and cleanliness), and food and hygiene products for the first few days. (Fozdar and Hartley 2013, 5)

Additionally, refugees are given access to 510 hours of free English lessons through the Adult Migrant English Program (AMEP). After the initial six to twelve months, refugees enter the settlement grants period (SGP), which continues for the next five years. During this time, refugees have access to a number of programs that provide assistance in a wide range of areas, for example youth programs, learning to drive courses, or social activities. Funding within the SGP is not only accessible for Australian service providers, but also for refugee communities, for example through the 'Diversity and Social Cohesion' grants and the 'Multicultural Arts and Festival' grants provided by the Department of Social Services. This enables communities to organise cultural festivals and other activities (DSS 2016).

The current approach, which provides intensive support and consults on all matters with the community, fosters agency and self-sufficiency of refugee individuals and the community. After the initial five years have passed, refugees are encouraged to try to work issues out themselves or with the help of their community. According to Fozdar and Hartley, Australia provides one of the best refugee settlement programs[22] worldwide (Fozdar and Hartley 2013, 1).

[22] In the USA, for example, newly arrived refugees only receive 3 months of case management support and 8 months of financial help. On top of that they are required to start repaying their travel loan from the International Office of Migration (International Organisation for Migration) 6 months after their arrival, resulting in significant financial pressures for Bhutanese families (Vang and Trieu 2014, 14, 24).

Background disadvantages

Refugees come to Australia not only with a history of loss and dispersal, but also with a range of other, often less obvious, disadvantages, as the following table details:

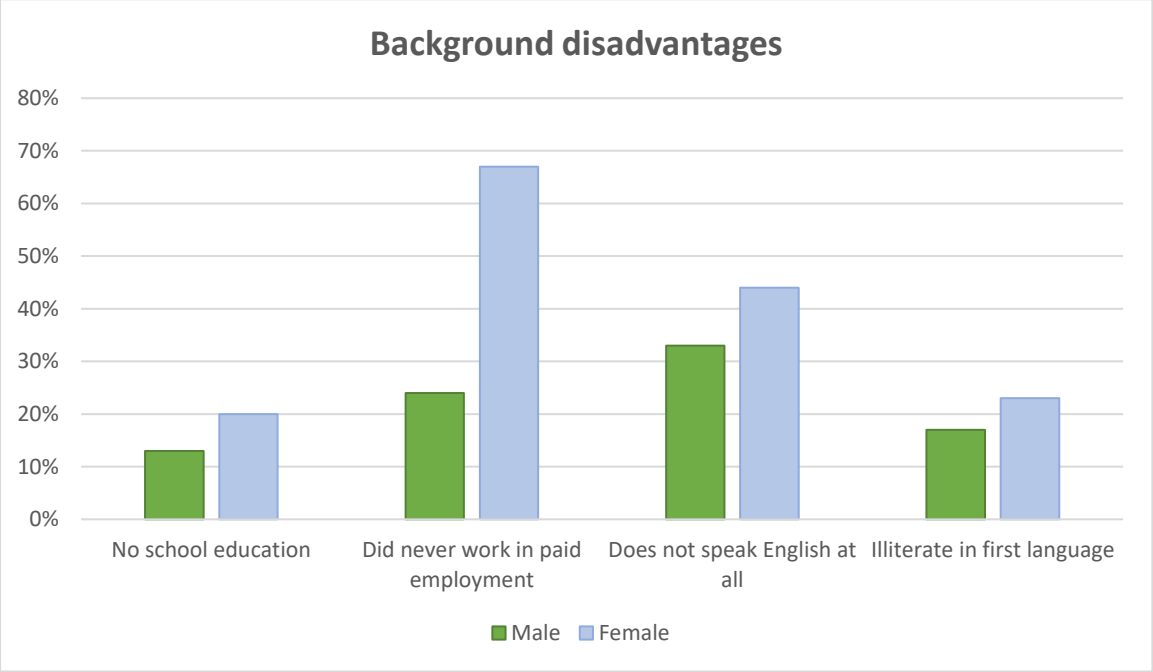


Table 1 – Background disadvantages of refugees (Marshall 2015, 2).

According to the above chart, between 12 and 20 percent of humanitarian entrants arrive without any previous education, between 18 and 23 percent are illiterate in their first language, and between 32 and 44 percent do not speak English at all. Additionally, 22 percent of the men and almost 70 percent of the women have never worked in paid employment, which shows the significant disadvantages that refugees face when resettling in Australia. These disadvantages can also impact negatively on other areas: Marshall (2015, 2) suggests a strong correlation between a humanitarian entrant's English proficiency and his confidence in being able to access relevant Government services. Of the group who spoke no English at all, 64 per cent felt completely incapable of accessing Government services, and even within the group who spoke English very well, only 35 percent had the confidence to fully utilise these services.

Health

One significant challenge for humanitarian entrants is often poor physical or mental health, with women apparently being more affected than men. 46 percent of all female participants

reported moderate or high psychological distress, 16 percent were on medication for mental health, and 62 percent on prescribed medication for physical health (ibid., 3). See table below:

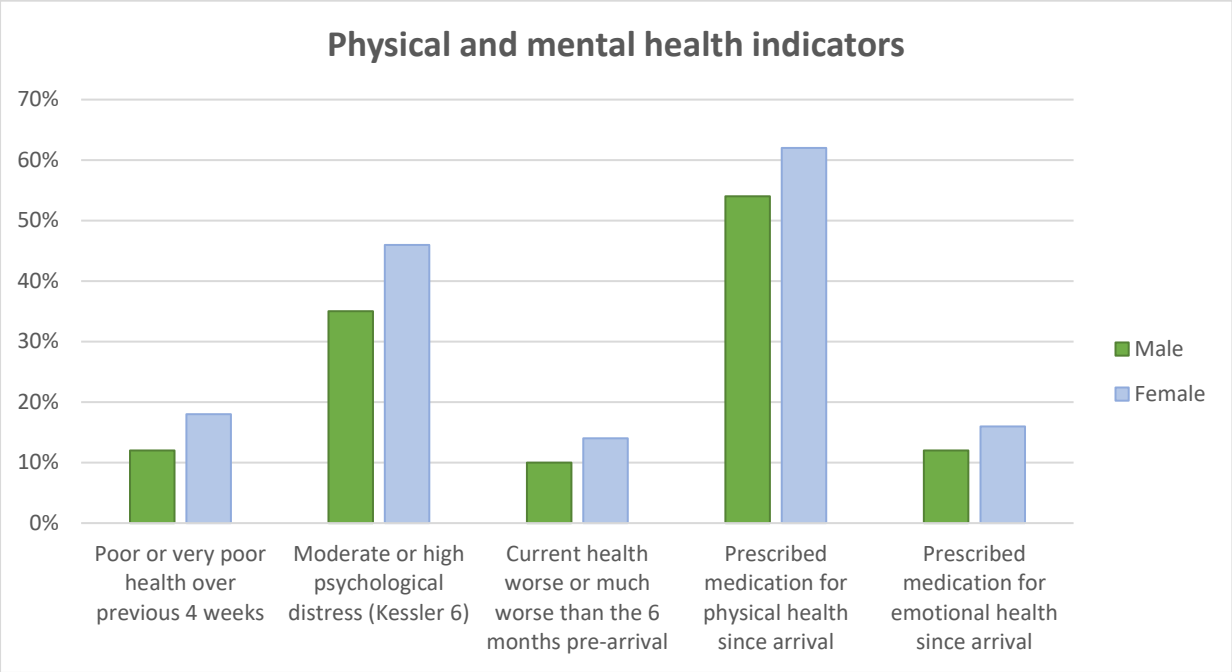


Table 2 – Physical and mental health indicators of refugees (Marshall 2015, 3).

In terms of child health, common illnesses are

> infectious diseases; incomplete immunisation; growth and nutrition problems; and poor dental health … they have multiple risk factors for educational disadvantage and may have unrecognised developmental delay and disability. (Fozdar and Hartley 2013, 17)

Common mental illnesses are post-traumatic stress disorder and depression, which can be amplified through post-migration stress. Australia's healthcare system currently lacks the flexibility to take cultural sensitivities of non-Australian patients into account and to provide culturally appropriate diagnosis and care. (ibid., 18).

> Across the whole humanitarian entrant population, there are significant barriers to accessing healthcare including financial, belief systems, language, an under-trained workforce, and legal and policy issues. (ibid., 19)

A common challenge within the healthcare sector is a lack of available TIS interpreters to help with the communication between doctors and refugee patients. While there are numerous interpreters for some languages, others are hardly represented at all. Interpreters also often lack the specialist knowledge required to accurately interpret medical diagnoses (FECCA 2014/15, 19). Even where TIS services are available, GPs frequently do not access them,

especially in rural areas. Consequently, patients often have to rely on the help of family members or community interpreters during appointments, which is inappropriate in a medical context (ibid., 20-21).

Employment

Refugees in Australia have significantly higher unemployment rates than the general population, and often cannot find work for years: 1.5 years after their arrival, 43 percent of humanitarian entrants are still unemployed, compared to 7 percent of other migrants (Fozdar and Hartley 2013, 9). They also earn less income on average: almost 50 percent of humanitarian entrants make less than AUD250 a week (Hugo 2011, 34).

Refugees resettling in Australia can be divided into those who come highly skilled and educated, and those with hardly any education or previous work experience, depending on their cultural backgrounds. The former group struggles to have qualifications recognised, and experiences loss of status, wealth and employment satisfaction after arrival in Australia (Colic-Peisker and Tilbury 2006, 210):

> The loss of occupational status among refugee arrivals in reality means that doctors and engineers drive taxis, previous lecturers work as teachers' assistants, a sociologist works as an underground miner, a helicopter pilot becomes a courier, economists, accountants and teachers work as cleaners, and an engineer holds a semi-skilled job in the building industry. (ibid., 213)

The main barriers to employment among refugees are a lack of English proficiency, a lack of Australian work experience and referees, and workplace discrimination (Fozdar and Hartley 2013, 9). These factors can be further aggravated through limited education and literacy, physical or mental health issues, limited social networks or no accessible support services. As a consequence, most refugees are only able to find work in the secondary labour market, for example in security, meat processing, child/aged care, and taxi-driving (ibid., 10). Refugees who have found employment often aim to recruit their fellow community members into the same job, resulting in the 'clustering' of certain co-cultural groups in an increasingly segmented labour market, a phenomenon that has been termed 'Middlemen minorities' (Colic-Peisker and Tilbury 2006, 206).

> Apparently, the segments of the Australian labour market staffed by recent refugees are typical low-status, low-paid, dead-end, insecure jobs and, in many cases, also

> physically taxing and unhealthy. By racializing and 'othering' these populations, such labour market allocation appears fair and 'natural'. (ibid., 217)

According to Fozdar and Hartley, refugees are sometimes resigned to having low level jobs in the hope of securing a better future for their children (Fozdar and Hartley 2013, 10). In some refugee communities the unemployment especially of men or heads of families, can result in feelings of shame and cause tension among family members. A woman from South Sudan stated:

> Our men want to fulfil their manhood by being the bread winner, and when that fails the anger would be transferred to us women, any small problem would be turned up to be big … But the source of the problem here is not being able to do what you want to do to fulfil your needs, the needs of the family etc. (Tilbury 2007a, 443)

However, the duration of unemployment varies from group to group. Some refugees seem to prefer to wait longer for a more suitable job, while others are prepared to accept whatever work they can get to earn money more quickly. While the first group, the so-called 'achievers', aim for status and a meaningful job, the priority of the latter, so-called 'consumers' is to improve their material wealth. While the achievers derive their sense of self-worth and identity from their profession (Peisker and Tilbury 2003, 68), the consumers' status is acquired by buying status symbols like a large house and expensive furniture or clothing that they can then show off to their community (ibid., 70). Length of residence, on the other hand, does not seem to relate to the level of unemployment; most first-generation refugees are permanently employed in low-paid, low-status jobs (Colic-Peisker and Tilbury 2006, 211). The high unemployment rates among humanitarian entrants can lead to financial difficulties; in the Longitudinal Study of Humanitarian Entrants, 11 percent struggled keeping up with mortgage/rent payments, 25 percent stated they were too poor to heat or cool their homes, and 17 percent had problems paying their bills (Marshall 2015, 4). However, while humanitarian entrants experience difficulties finding paid employment, the number of people setting up their own businesses is higher than in other migrant groups (Hugo 2011, 42). Government funding for entrepreneurship schemes has often been successfully utilised (FECCA 2014/15, 34).

The overall experience of employment services seems to be negative with almost half (47.57 percent) of the participants in the latest survey by FECCA[23] stating that they were not using employment services at all (ibid., 29). According to the participants, Australian employment providers are too fixated on keeping to traditional procedure instead of trying to find flexible solutions for people from non-Australian backgrounds. Some of the participants in the study had been accessing employment services regularly for four or five years without a positive outcome (ibid., 30).

Education and training

While all refugees have the right to 510 free English lessons through AMEP, about 25 percent do not access the service. Some people prefer to find work immediately, others have family obligations or no available transport. Lately, the effectiveness of AMEP has been called into question in a range of areas: refugees who are illiterate in their first language are commonly not able to reach an appropriate standard of English in just 510 h, while those who are highly educated or skilled improve much more quickly and need a more challenging syllabus. Also, there seems to exist a lack of workplace English and conversational English in the topics covered (Fozdar and Hartley 2013, 11).

In terms of vocational training, mature age refugees found that most Australian training programs are tailored to young people, denying older refugees access (FECCA 2014/15, 26). Young refugees, on the other hand, struggle to keep up with the curriculum in public schools, even though many receive additional English training in so called IECs (Intensive English Centres) (Fozdar and Hartley 2013, 12). Often young refugees also have difficulties meeting the competing demands from school and home (ibid., 13).

Housing

Finding a safe place to stay is one of the most important steps for refugees in the settlement process. However, this often proves difficult, as refugees generally lack knowledge of the many procedures involved when acquiring a rental property, such as securing bonds, providing referees and signing contracts. On average, refugees move house three times in their first year. The rates of refugees buying their own houses within five years of their arrival

[23] Federation of Ethnic Communities' Councils of Australia

is low compared to other migrants (ibid., 15). Common difficulties for refugees in the housing market are:

- limited amount of affordable urban rentals
- long waiting lists for public housing
- difficulties in bringing up initial costs
- lack of rental history and referees
- discrimination from real estate agents or landlords
- limited amount of rental housing for large families
- inflated real estate market (ibid., 16)

Social connections

75 percent of refugees arrive in Australia already accompanied by family members or close friends. However, in many cases refugees have additional family members waiting in the homeland or in refugee camps, with whom they would like to reunite. Support is available through Australia's family reunion scheme, which allows already established refugees to submit applications to bring relatives still living abroad into Australia (ibid., 19).

Once in Australia, the refugees' access to the co-ethnic community is commonly fostered through 'clustering', a process whereby Australian service providers settle refugees in the same city areas, for example because these areas are more affordable than others, or because they have the most suitable infrastructure, such as good access to public transport or well-equipped service facilities. Additionally, it enables refugees to have members of the same community living nearby (ibid., 20).

Refugee groups often have a strong sense of community, with members readily assisting each other (Hugo 2011, 46). People share cars, look after each other's children, help with filling out forms or assist each other in finding work and housing (ibid., 47). According to Hugo, it is beneficial for newly arrived refugees to have an established community nearby. In his study, 49.5 percent of humanitarian settlers stated that they had a "strong network of friends in [the] ethnic community" (ibid., 49). However, refugees do not only provide assistance in their own communities but also take on volunteering positions within Australian organisations or groups, for example as a means to future employment or because they are interested to learn more about the broader community (ibid., 46). According to Hugo's study, 58.7 percent of

humanitarian settlers reported that they had worked as volunteers at some point in Australia (ibid., 48).

While many refugees have strong connections to their own community, the degree of involvement with the wider society varies from group to group, and also depends on the length of residence (ibid., 50). Of the participants in Hugo's study, most thought they were being treated well in their local community, nevertheless many did not feel 'at home'. Approximately 10 percent of participants stated that they felt they belonged neither to the local community nor to the broader Australian community. However, one fifth suggested they were on friendly terms with their neighbours, and between 33 and 50 percent regularly participated in local community events like church groups, school events or visiting the library and playgroups (ibid., 51). By contrast, the Longitudinal Study of Humanitarian Entrants reports that approximately half of its participants experienced difficulties in social interactions with Australians: 50 percent of all males and 53 percent of all females found it hard or very hard to make friends, and 56 percent of all males compared to 65 percent of all females found it hard or very hard to talk to their Australian neighbours (Marshall 2015, 4). These numbers suggest a certain degree of isolation amongst refugees:

> Members of all communities spoke of the isolation they felt, particularly when compared to former practices of regular, often daily, visiting or 'street-greeting' which ensured that people felt connected and supported … it is the desire to retain that aspect of social life, and the sense that it is lost forever, which produced feelings of deep psychological distress. (Fozdar 2009, 1345)

Feelings of isolation can be stronger among those who come from a culture where daily socialising with friends, family and neighbours is the norm. Refugees have expressed their disappointment at the realisation that in Australia people are commonly too busy to socialise on a daily basis (ibid., 1346). However, refugee groups are diverse in the way they interact or wish to interact with the host community. While some resent a lack of social connections to host members, others are content to stay within their own communities (Berry 1992, 77).

The most important barriers for social inclusion are similar to those for employment: insufficient English and a lack of knowledge about what is culturally and socially appropriate in Australia (Hugo 2011, 53).

Satisfaction with life in Australia

According to Hugo's study, 87 percent of all participants are happy with living in Australia (ibid., 54). Similarly, four out of five humanitarian entrants of the Longitudinal Study of Humanitarian Entrants described their settlement experiences as good or very good (Marshall 2015, 4).

A multicultural Australia?

While service provision is certainly an important part of the settlement process, the general attitude of people and politicians towards refugees also influences the refugees' resettlement experiences. Thus in what follows I briefly discuss attitudes in Australia towards multiculturalism and refugees, in order to provide an idea of the underlying currents that shape everyday interactions between refugees and Australians.

In official terms, Australia takes pride in being a multicultural country. The latest review of its multicultural policy states that:

> The Australian government is unwavering in its commitment to a multicultural Australia. Australia's multicultural composition is at the heart of our national identity and is intrinsic to our history and character … It enhances respect and support for cultural religious and linguistic diversity … It acknowledges the benefits and potential that cultural diversity brings … It also allows those who choose to call Australia home the right to practice and share in their cultural traditions and languages within the law and free from discrimination. (DSS 2014, 2)

However, while Australia officially supports multiculturalism and claims that migrants are free to retain their cultural identity, some scholars have questioned those narratives. Jupp, for example, states that many of Australia's multicultural policies are only in place because Australia does not want to appear openly hostile towards foreigners in the eyes of the world (Jupp 2002, 202). Another suggestion is that Australia's population is becoming more and more xenophobic (Fozdar and Hartley 2013, 3, Jupp 2002, 197), caused by an increase over the last decade of assimilationist propaganda by conservative politicians whose anti-multicultural narrative fuelled fears of an increasingly divided Australia (Tilbury 2007b, 2). Anti-racism programs are implemented in some states, but not in a consistent or comprehensive manner, thus failing to be effective (Berman and Paradies 2008, 12). This has also been found by Jupp (2002, 217), who states that "many Australian attitudes to

immigration and multiculturalism are strongly engrained and are similar to those in other receiving countries. Majorities are suspicious of immigration and immigrants."

Australia's current citizens originate from more than 200 countries and speak around 175 languages (Tilbury 2007b, 4). Since the end of WWII, approximately seven million people have migrated to Australia (DSS 2014, 2). However, Tilbury argues, while the Australian population likes to regard itself as multicultural, many Australians withdraw their support when it comes to the implementation of multicultural policies, or to grant funding to support diversity (Tilbury 2007b, 11). Current multicultural policies commonly aim at alleviating disadvantage of migrant groups, for example by implementing programs to secure affordable housing or healthcare, but they don't address racial prejudice (Berman and Paradies 2008, 10). According to a survey by Tilbury conducted in 2003, between 71 and 73 per cent of Australians thought that migrants should

> adapt and blend into the larger society, …, 68 per cent [agreed] that a person should have lived most of their life in Australia to be truly Australian, 58 per cent that one must be born in Australia, 37 per cent that one must have Australian ancestry, and a full 36 per cent that one must be Christian to be truly Australian. […] One might also conclude … that the term multiculturalism is understood and accepted by the Australian people as a descriptive term, but is not accepted as a prescription for policy, and that support for real diversity is low. (Tilbury 2007b, 11-2)

A survey by Dunn that examined racist attitudes in Australia affirmed those results. Of the group of LOTE (language other than English) participants, 35.6 percent had experienced racism in the workplace, 29.9 percent in education (Dunn 2003, 9), 42.5 percent had experienced disrespect because of their background, and 44.3 percent had been insulted or called names for the same reason. The groups that are most targeted by racist prejudice are Muslims, followed by Asian-Australians and indigenous Australians (ibid., 4). 12 percent of the Australian participants in the study openly identified as being racist (ibid., 8), and 45 percent thought that cultural diversity weakens Australia's nationhood. However, Dunn acknowledges that the degree of racism and prejudice varies greatly across Australia, with the most 'racist' places being working class suburbs of Sydney and Brisbane (ibid., 11). In some areas discrimination is more likely to be caused by the population's unfamiliarity with migrants of certain cultural backgrounds rather than by outright racism (Jupp 2002, 177). For refugees, the experience of racism can exacerbate the already difficult process of settlement. Fozdar and Hartley claim that "racism is certainly felt by refugees in Australia and seen as a

cause of settlement difficulties, who feel both obvious and subtle forms of exclusion, and frequently ask 'at what point am I no longer a refugee and just an Australian'" (Fozdar and Hartley 2013, 23).

Thus, while official policies support multiculturalism and have resulted in a sophisticated settlement scheme, there are underlying currents against diversity, which can hinder the inclusion of refugees in Australia, for example through discrimination in the workplace or housing market, or through subtle ways of social exclusion.

Overview of existing resettlement services and programs in Tasmania

Tasmania is significantly less culturally diverse than the mainland, with its overseas born population ranking at 11.6 percent of the total population in 2011, and only 5.1 percent being born in NES countries (DIBP 2014b)[24]. In 2011 only 0.7 percent of the total population spoke English not well or not at all.

Tasmania's settlement services struggled in the last decades, as more and more humanitarian entrants from a variety of previously unfamiliar cultures were sent to the state. However, settlement workers have described a 'radical shift' in the state's policies, which has led to Tasmania now apparently having one of the best settlement schemes for refugees worldwide, especially the intensive HSS program of the first six months[25].

As Tasmania is a relatively small state with only two larger cities, it is difficult for refugee communities to reach the 'critical mass' that is a feature of communities on the mainland, where some communities consist of several thousand members. Reaching a critical mass means that communities can to some extent support themselves in terms of organising funds, supporting newcomers, creating employment structures etc. Also, once an ethnic community reaches a certain size, service providers are known to react by 'skilling up', which means they tailor their support to that particular group, which results in services being more culturally appropriate. As the communities in Tasmania are much smaller, it takes the service providers longer to 'catch up' and provide this tailored support; as a result, the existing services are sometimes not being utilised by communities due to being culturally or socially inappropriate.

[24] Compared to 24.6% of the total Australian population being overseas born, and 15.7% of the total population being born in a non-English speaking country.
[25] According to the statements of several Tasmanian refugee workers.

The HSS in Tasmania is run by Centacare in the south and by the Launceston Migrant Resource Centre in the north; each organisation provides ongoing support in the initial months. The Settlement Grants program (until year five) is organised by local service providers like the MRC north and south, Save the Children, and a variety of church organisations, which offer participation in a variety of programs, for example a Youth Program (youth workers assisting young refugees between 12 and 25 with settlement issues), immigration advice, the 'Top Gear' program (volunteers teaching learner drivers), the 'Car Café' (practise driving-related English vocabulary with a cup of coffee), an annual Women's Gathering (for all women with migrant background), 'Waste to Wonderful' (refugee women meeting to craft together), family violence information days, and many more[26].

Part 3 - The Lhotshampa in Australia

After having provided an overview of current resettlement services in Australia and examining the population's attitude towards multiculturalism, the following part details the scarce quantitative demographic data available on Bhutanese in Australia. It is based on the two censuses in 2011 and 2016, but it is questionable how accurate the information is, for two reasons: first, the Lhotshampa do not have their own category, so they are included in the total number of Bhutanese people living in Australia. However, as the census of 2001 only lists 63 Bhutan-born people in Australia, the majority of today's Bhutanese are likely to be Lhotshampa. The second difficulty is that there is bound to be a certain percentage of young Lhotshampa who would identify as Nepal-born, and therefore fall into a different category. Nevertheless, I detailed the existing data in the following paragraphs, as it provides an approximation of gender, age, and other proportions in the Lhotshampa community.

Distribution in Australia

The number of Bhutanese who had migrated to Australia before the resettlement scheme through UNHCR was initiated in 2008 was very small. According to the census of 2001, only 63 people in the whole of Australia were born in Bhutan; ten years later, the census recorded 2455 Bhutan-born. In 2011, the majority of Bhutanese had been resettled in South Australia (28.7 percent), followed by New South Wales (18.9 percent), Tasmania (16.1 percent), Victoria (14.3 percent), Queensland (11.1 percent), Western Australia (5.5 percent) and the

[26] Information taken from leaflets from the MRC and Centacare.

Northern Territory (1 percent) (DIBP 2014a, 1). The census data of 2016 lists 5950 Bhutanese-born individuals in Australia (ABS.Stat 2016), however, the regional distribution was not available before the completion of this study.

Age distribution

The median age of Bhutanese in Australia is 32, compared with 37 for the Australian population, with the majority of the Bhutanese aged between 25 and 44 (53.7 percent), but also a relatively large group of people over 45 (22 percent).

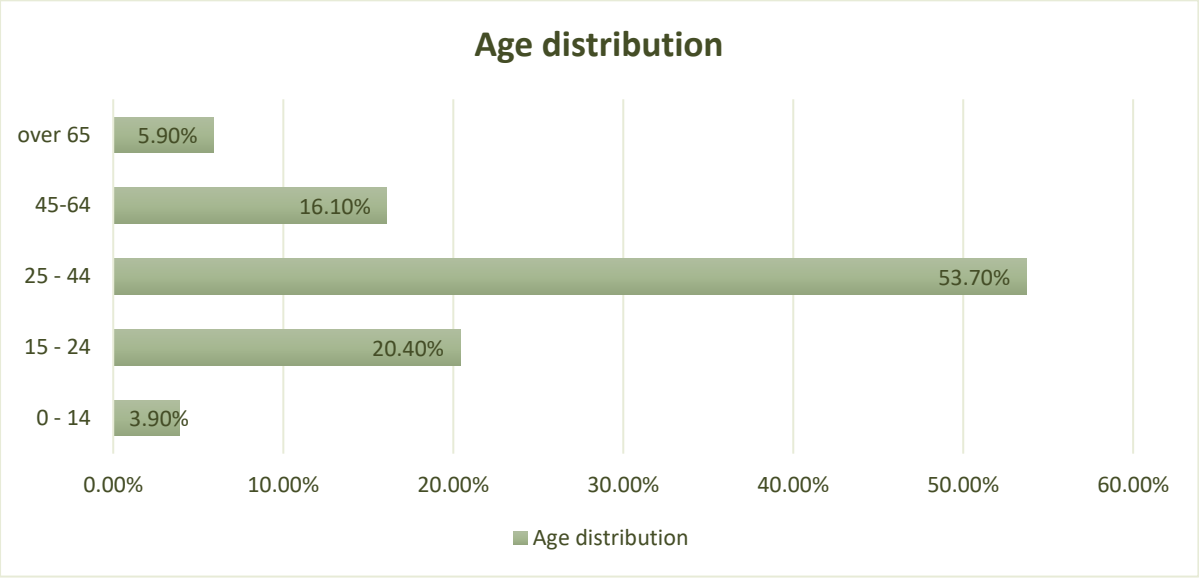


Table 3 – Age distribution of Bhutanese born population in Australia (DIBP 2014a, 2)

Language

The majority of Bhutanese speak Nepali at home (80.6 percent), 16.9 percent speak 'other South Asian languages', and 1.2 percent speak English at home. 46.7 percent identified as speaking English well or very well, and 51.8 percent spoke English not well or not at all (ibid., 2)

Religion

According to the 2011 census data, the majority of Bhutanese are Hindu (69.4 percent), and 21.3 percent are Buddhists. The remainder is made up of 'miscellaneous religions' (1.8 percent), 'not described' (1.8 percent) or 'other' (5.7 percent).

Median income

The 2011 census reports a median weekly income of AUD264 for Bhutanese of working age, compared to AUD597 for Australian-born people (ibid., 3).

Qualifications

According to the 2011 census, 29.6 percent of Bhutanese aged 15 or over held some form of qualification (degree, diploma or certificate) from a tertiary institution, while almost half of the population (48.6 percent) had no qualification. The remaining 21.8 percent could not be assessed.

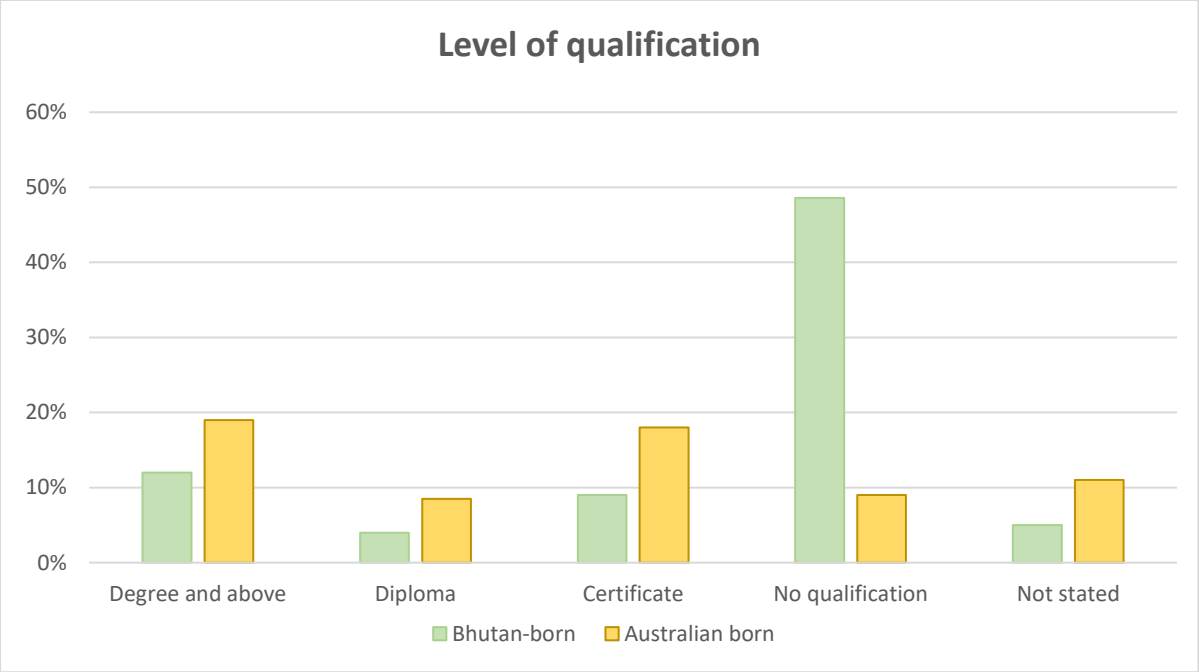


Table 4 – Level of qualification of Bhutan-born/Australian-born population (DIBP 2014a, 4).

Employment

Of the Bhutanese of working age, only 29.4 percent were employed at the last census date, compared to 65 percent of the Australian population. Of the 29.4 percent, the majority (almost 50 percent) worked as labourers, and only 17.1 percent had found employment in a skilled position.

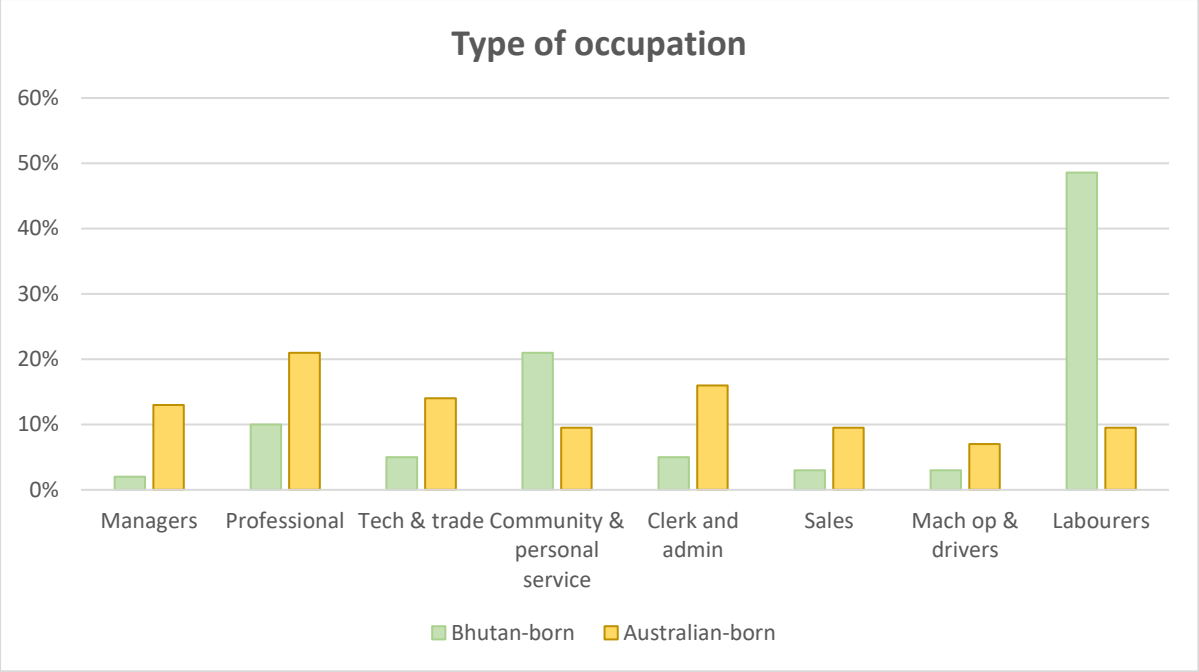


Table 5 – Type of occupation of Bhutan-born/Australian-born population (DIBP 2014a, 4).

Since 2008, approximately 800[27] Bhutanese refugees have been resettled in Tasmania, with more still arriving on a regular basis through the family reunion scheme. They have formed communities in Launceston and Hobart, both of a similar size. In Hobart, the Bhutanese cluster in the two suburban areas of Glenorchy and Clarence where rent and housing are affordable and service providers are easily accessible. So far the government has made no efforts to resettle Bhutanese in rural Tasmania[28].

Summary

It became apparent that a wide range of factors in both the migrating group and the receiving nation-state can influence the resettlement process; we have also seen that a nation-state's political agenda need not be reciprocated by some segments of the society, which can further complicate settlement strategies and impact on intended outcomes. This means that in order to understand and analyse settlement processes it is vital that policymakers or researchers take a multitude of factors into account.

[27] Data accessed from a confidential printout of DSS internal data that was provided to me by a member of DSS. It detailed amounts of settlers by country of birth (Tasmania) between 01/07/2011 and 30/06/2015.
[28] Information about settlement location is based on the 2011 census; some Bhutanese might have chosen to move to rural areas or to mainland Australia at a later date.

Chapter 5 - Methodology

The aim of this chapter is to give an overview of qualitative research methodology and how it relates to the objectives of this study, as well as providing a detailed account of my fieldwork, data collection and analysis. In the first section I discuss the main philosophical ideas and developments that formed contemporary qualitative research. In the second section I justify why I chose qualitative research as methodology for this study, and how its key characteristics relate to the objectives of my research. Throughout the first two sections I also refer to recent developments in cultural anthropology and ethnography, as some of their current debates are relevant to this study and have influenced my approach to fieldwork. In the third section I outline my fieldwork, describing the setting and limitations, and detailing what methods were used in data collection and analysis. I also account for my role as researcher and how it influenced the research. I conclude the chapter with a brief discussion about the ethical considerations of this study.

Qualitative research in its context

Theoretical influences

In this section I address only the main theoretical developments that occurred during the 1970s and beyond, as they still influence qualitative research today.

In the 1960s and 70s a shift occurred in the so-called positivist sciences, triggered by the publication of Thomas Kuhn's book *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* in 1962. In it he showed that the paradigms on which scientists rest their theories are often not grounded in empirical data themselves, which periodically leads to the replacement of one paradigm with another. Old knowledge is challenged and replaced by new theories. As different disciplines work with different paradigms, and these paradigms are due to change, any research that is based on these paradigms can only be evaluated in the context of that paradigm and does therefore not lead to knowledge that is universally present. Kuhn's criticisms, however, affected not only the positivist, but also the naturalist sciences. Kuhn argued that findings of social scientists were constructs rather than empirical truth, based on their at the time prevalent scientific paradigms and epistemological positions (Hammersley 2013, 39). This led to a new approach towards understanding social phenomena called philosophical hermeneutics:

> Interpretation of texts, and by extension understanding of the social world too, could no longer be seen as a matter of capturing social meanings in their own terms; the accounts produced were regarded as inevitably reflecting the socio-historical position of the researcher. (Hammersley and Atkinson 1995, 13)

Another major influence at the time were the writings of Foucault and Derrida, which initiated postmodernism as a new theoretical paradigm in the social sciences. Examining institutional practices over centuries and across various disciplines, Foucault found that these practices were determined by the respective discipline they were embedded in, creating their own 'truth regimes' and thereby "defining the identities and constituting the perceptions and actions of those involved" (Hammersley 2013, 40). Foucault also rejected the premise that social research represents reality, claiming that it is instead used as a tool to assert power and control. In his opinion the theories that academia considers valid are more a reflection of who is in power than empirical truth (Hammersley and Atkinson 1995, 14). Finally, the French philosopher Derrida criticised the hitherto dominant theory in phenomenological philosophy, which stipulated that language is a stable construct which generates the same meaning to everyone. Derrida argued that the meaning connected with words or phrases is instead fluctuating and context-dependent, and can never be fully grasped or controlled (Hammersley 2013, 42).

These developments led to the so-called 'crisis of representation' of the mid-1980s. Initiated in cultural anthropology, this crisis soon spread to other social sciences (Denzin and Lincoln 2005, 18). It called into doubt whether there was any value in conducting qualitative research, considering that any results could only be interpreted as contextual constructs, and there was no external truth to be revealed. While some academics abandoned fieldwork for good, the dilemma generally caused a heightened awareness of these limitations in social sciences, which led to a variety of adjustments that were aimed at improving the accountability of research (O'Reilly 2005, 210).

As a response to the crisis of representation, qualitative researchers started to experiment with new methods of representation (Denzin and Lincoln 2005, 20). One approach was the method of 'writing in' rather than 'writing up', denoting the production of situated, subjective and contextual knowledge instead of knowledge that claims to be objective, universal and independent of the researcher (Mansvelt and Berg 2010, 339). In cultural anthropology there were approaches to include the participants' voices in the text (dialogism and polyphony) in

order to provide a more realistic representation of the anthropologist's experiences. Informants became co-authors, actively participating in research design, fieldwork and data analysis (Clifford and Marcus 1986, 15). However, while new styles of writing allowed readers to gain more insight into the research process, the researcher and thus the validity of the research, it did not solve the problem of representation: that a narrative is a creation, a translation of the limited experience of the researcher in a socially and culturally foreign environment (Rabinow 1986, 246).

Another important methodological improvement was the inclusion of reflexivity in both fieldwork and writing. Social scientists realised how important it is for the researcher to become aware of his role in the field: on one hand by being reflexive about his background and biases, which directly influence the way the researcher perceives what he experiences and the way he constructs knowledge, and on the other hand by being aware that he cannot participate in social realities without both influencing them and reacting to them. By being critically reflexive throughout the research process, the researcher can analyse and account for the ways in which these mechanisms have influenced his research and his interpretations, thus introducing a new level of transparency to the research process (Hammersley and Atkinson 1995, 16).

Finally, anthropologists and other social scientists also became more aware of the social and political impact that their research had for their participants. Perhaps to counter the postmodernist argument that all fieldwork is influenced by imperialism, some researchers chose to conduct research projects that were by design reciprocal, and aimed to aid the participants/community in exchange for their collaboration (Robben and Sluka 2012, 23), for example by contributing to already existing indigenous projects, or by involving participants actively in the research process. By thus representing the participants' interests, researchers could give back to the people they studied, instead of just serving their own ends by taking what is needed from the field and leaving, which had until then been common practice among anthropologists (ibid., 22). Fieldwork became for some an act of 'reaching out', of connecting to participants with empathy and compassion while being aware of one's political and ethical impact (ibid., 24).

While the limitations of qualitative research still exist, the academic discussion of the 1980s and beyond led to many improvements. Today, the common understanding among social

scientists is that while qualitative research cannot guarantee complete objectivity or reliability in its methods, it is still a valid methodology. Researchers need to ensure that they study social phenomena to the best of their abilities and their knowledge, reflect upon their limitations and biases and seek validation from their participants.

> However, to say that our findings, and even our data, are constructed does not automatically imply that they do not or cannot represent social phenomena. To believe that they do is to assume that the only true form of representation would involve the world imprinting its characteristics on our senses, a highly implausible account of the process of perception. (Hammersley and Atkinson 1995, 18)

Any type of research, be it quantitative or qualitative, has its limits. Researchers need to be flexible in order to adapt their methods according to the situation to gather data and represent the information as accurately and truthfully as possible (Mason 2002, 4). Overall, research design, methods of data collection and analysis, and their written expressions have increased in transparency and accountability, and researchers have become more aware of their political and social impact in the field. Contemporary 'best' fieldwork practice is ethically grounded, participatory in collaboration, reciprocal, multi-disciplinary and engages in humanitarian issues (Robben and Sluka 2012, 29).

Having discussed the key features of recent developments in qualitative research as a paradigm, in the next section I delineate the practical key features of qualitative research methods and its limitations.

Contemporary qualitative research methodology

Qualitative research is often used to explore phenomena of the social world, for example social and cultural processes, how people view the world and create meaning or social change. It is used in a wide range of schools and disciplines, mostly within an interpretivist sociological tradition, for example in anthropology, sociology, ethnomethodology, symbolic interactionism and more recently also within psychology, human geography and linguistics (Mason 2002, 2).

Its approach is to position events and discourses in an overall context, not only to describe the phenomena, but also to investigate why things happen in a certain way and how this relates to the current socio-political and historical situation. Qualitative researchers collect and record as many details as reasonable, aiming for a holistic understanding of a given

situation, in order to detect underlying mechanisms or structures of the observed phenomena. This enables the researcher to compare the mechanisms of a specific situation to similar contexts, allowing for the creation of significant generalisations across various contexts (ibid., 1). Additionally, qualitative researchers aim to observe events in their natural setting rather than bringing participants into a laboratory with controlled conditions. The researcher is aware that he is part of the setting and that his research is produced or constructed in collaboration with his participants. As such, the researcher needs to be reflexive of his own biases, thoughts and feelings throughout the research process, and to be able to analyse how these might impact on his work. Qualitative research is thus interpretive and naturalistic. Finally, qualitative research is conducted from an emic perspective. An emic perspective "is based on the belief that people's viewpoints, when set in the context of their lives, are understandable, whether or not the researcher agrees with them" (Schensul 2012, 87). Thus, qualitative research explores what meanings participants attribute to certain phenomena (ibid., 87). Another distinguishing feature of qualitative research is its flexibility in the use of methods. To research events as they occur naturally, the researcher has to be able to draw on a variety of methods to turn these events into representations, including field journals, photos, interviews, videos or notes (Denzin and Lincoln 2005, 3). As each of these practices represents the world in a different way, researchers regularly use several methods (ibid., 4).

Limitations of qualitative research

As mentioned above, it is impossible to transfer the researcher's experiences during fieldwork onto paper without selecting, interpreting and editing the content significantly. The result is a limited representation of the experience, influenced by a range of factors of which the researcher may or may not be conscious and in control. A common limitation is for example the cultural upbringing of the researcher - how far is one culture able to interpret another accurately? Another limitation is the personal background of the researcher - how does one's personality influence the research, and to what degree has one's academic discipline formed one's preconceptions? Then there are practical concerns. Researchers have to negotiate barriers such as limited time and funding, publishing pressures, often substantial academic commitments, and potentially the interests of other parties that are involved in the research,

which naturally limits the amount and depth of insight that researchers can gain during their research projects[29] (Van Maanen 1988, 5).

How does qualitative research relate to the aims of this study?

As detailed in the introduction, my research investigates the resettlement and acculturative experiences of Bhutanese refugees in Tasmania with the following objectives:

1. Review of existing resettlement procedures and available services for refugees in Tasmania with the aim to establish what works well and where improvement is needed. This review includes
    i. data gained from an extensive literature search focussing on resettlement in Australia and Tasmania;
    ii. the results gained from consultations with Australian service providers, NGO representatives, and volunteers; and
    iii. the results gained from consultation with the Lhotshampa community.
2. Exploration of the Lhotshampa's experiences in the areas of cultural and identity change. This includes an analysis of changes in lifestyle, religious affiliation and customs, social roles, family structure, cultural traditions, and identity, and how these changes are spread among different demographic groups within the community.
3. Analysis of how acculturative processes in the Lhotshampa community are influenced by both the host society's particularities and the cultural and historical background of the refugee groups with the aim of revealing underlying structures and consistencies that could be applied to resettling refugee communities elsewhere.

The research questions that were designed to achieve the objectives are as follows:

1. What are the main challenges for Bhutanese refugees resettling in Tasmania, on one hand in terms of services available in Tasmania, and on the other hand in terms of the community-internal struggles that are caused by resettlement? How could they be improved?

[29] In 'Tales of the field', Van Maanen originally referred to limitations of ethnography as opposed to qualitative research. The limitations that he lists, however, apply in my opinion also to this study, as the focus was on culturally diverse group that calls into question the transferability of meaning; also, the practical limitations are commonly a concern among modern day researchers, no matter what discipline they are from.

2. What acculturative changes occur in the Lhotshampa's social and cultural customs due to resettlement in Tasmania? How do they fit into current theories on patterns of acculturative negotiations?
3. How has living in refugee camps and migrating to Tasmania influenced feelings of identity among the Lhotshampa? How do the results fit into a larger framework of the concept of identity?

My aim was to find out what it feels like to be a Bhutanese refugee in current day Tasmania, what difficulties these people face in their daily lives and how these could be addressed, and how living in Tasmanian society influences their social and cultural traditions. The overall aim is to raise awareness of the current refugee situation and to develop suggestions to improve future integration measures, all in collaboration with the Lhotshampa.

Qualitative research was chosen as methodology for this study for two reasons. The first is its theoretical framework. This study focusses on people and how they make sense of the events they have experienced, and of the new world around them. As such it includes a wide range of phenomena that can only be understood in their context. A quantitative approach is not suitable as it commonly researches a small number of variables among a large sample in a controlled environment. The aim of such an approach is to prove or disprove a theory or hypothesis (Hammersley and Atkinson 1995, 4-5). This study, on the other hand, aimed to generate a comprehensive picture of the Lhotshampa's resettlement, necessitating a small sample, combined with numerous variables. As such, it is not one or two theories that are being tested, but rather the aim is to gain insight into underlying mechanisms or regularities within the resettlement and integrative process, which can then be transferred to other comparable situations. It would be impossible to test theories in this case, as the data that is gathered is dependent on the people and the current situation. As people are involved, their opinions may vary, depending on who they are, who they are talking to, what they believe is expected of them, their agenda, and their current situation in life. A large-scale survey would not be able to yield any valid data in terms of the aims of this study. In order to gain the comprehensive understanding this study aims for, we need to understand why people think, feel and live their lives the way they do. In my opinion, a qualitative approach that is at the same time interpretive, constructivist and reflective is the most suitable theoretical framework: interpretive, to acknowledge that people interpret the world around them in

different ways, which determines their way of being in the world; constructive, to keep in mind that there is no essential truth that can be uncovered when it comes to researching people, and that any form of outcome is a product – or construct - of the combined effort of the researchers and the participants and as such can only be analysed in its context; and reflective, to ensure that the researcher is aware of his limitations, biases and background, and reflect critically on how these factors may influence his data collection and analysis. While I agree with the postmodernist premise that meta-theories do not exist, and that meanings and interpretations are not stable (ibid., 13), I also think that we need not cease conducting qualitative research altogether. What is true for a community in one situation may still be true for other communities in comparable situations. The idea that this 'local' truth must be valid for everyone and under all circumstances far exceeds what is possible or necessary in the social sciences. Yet I also agree that research should not only be descriptive, but should yield results that can be transferred to other comparable situations. If qualitative research can achieve this, then it increases our knowledge of humanity.

Secondly, I chose qualitative research because it allows for the use of several methods, which was crucial for this study. My ontological position is that social reality can be observed in people's interactions, and that opinions, experiences and perceptions of events and processes can be communicated to others. As such, I think that it is appropriate to collect data by observing people's actions and by having conversations with people. Additionally, I suggest that social reality can be experienced by participating in the same activities as the people one studies, and as such participation serves as another form of data collection. As this study aims to explore socio-cultural changes among the Lhotshampa, interviews that focus on the thorough investigation of a few key points appear to be the most appropriate method. Another advantage of choosing qualitative interviewing as my main method is that it allows participants more freedom during the conversation. As the interviews are not fully structured, there is room for elaboration on certain areas, and the interviewees can add topics they find relevant. As this study is designed to improve existing conditions for refugees, it is important that the participants get the opportunity to express their opinions and contribute to the study. Nevertheless, while interviewing is the main source of data collection in this study, it seemed necessary to complement the data by other methods such as document research, focus groups and observation, for the following reasons: First, the use of various methods

allows different types of data to emerge. This is useful as different data teaches us other aspects of the same phenomenon, and might open other lines of enquiry. Thus it serves as a form of methodological triangulation. Second, when different forms of data collection generate the same results, these results are likely to be more reliable. Finally, the use of multiple methods also allows for a maximum of data to be collected. In situations where the possibility of recruiting interview participants is limited, the inclusion of other methods can potentially fill gaps in the data.

Considering the above, qualitative research seemed to be an appropriate methodology for my research project, as it allowed me to experience Bhutanese life in the current Tasmanian context and in a natural setting. Through spending time with Bhutanese refugees, observing and conversing, I could gather rich and comprehensive data, which not only answered my research questions but also brought up new, interesting themes.

Validity, generalizability and reliability in qualitative research

Another issue that qualitative research has to address is how to legitimize its work, as traditional standards from quantitative research - validity, generalizability and reliability - are not suited to assess qualitative studies (Denzin and Lincoln 2005, 19). To address this issue, different approaches have been developed. One example is the concept of 'trustworthiness', which denotes the qualitative equivalent of rigour, and which is used to assess qualitative research. Eyles and Baxter recommend the use of the following four criteria to assess trustworthiness (these were originally developed in Lincoln and Guba's influential work 'Naturalistic Inquiry' in 1985): credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability, which roughly correspond to the traditional concepts of validity, generalizability, reliability and objectivity. Validity, or respectively credibility in qualitative research "refers to the connections between the experiences of groups and the concepts which the social scientist uses to recreate and simplify them through interpretation" (Baxter and Eyles 1997, 512). Credibility means that the interpretations that the researcher offers for what he has learned make sense, not only to himself, but to a wider audience. Whether they are true or not, however, cannot be confirmed, as people experience reality differently. In this sense, results need to be plausible based on the recordings, but need not be confirmed by all participants. Common strategies to ensure validation include triangulation, respondent validation, long-term fieldwork and purposeful sampling (ibid., 512-3). Transferability stands for the ability to

transfer the results to comparable situations that are unrelated to the study. While desirable, results are not always transferable within qualitative research (ibid., 515). Dependability means that the same research design or research instrument should yield the same results when repeated. The important thing here is that key concepts are clearly defined, so that data can be evaluated consistently according to those concepts, and results are dependable. To minimise the risk of inconsistent application and interpretation of concepts, it is recommended that researchers use, for example, triangulation and participant researchers, and that they record data mechanically and use low-inference descriptors (ibid., 516). Finally, confirmability expects the researcher to address the ways that his preconceptions and aims might have influenced the research. Confirmability is

> the degree to which findings are determined by the respondents and conditions of the inquiry and not by the biases, motivations, interests or perspectives of the inquirer. (Lincoln and Guba 1985, 290)

A similar set of criteria has been developed by Alex Stewart[30], who replaced the terms validity, reliability and generalisability with veracity, objectivity and perspicacity respectively. Veracity, in Stewart's meaning of the word, is achieved when the researcher aims to describe exactly what was observed and to conform to this 'truth'. Objectivity is a more difficult ideal as a researcher's understanding of events in the field is inevitably limited by a variety of factors, such as his own preconceptions, his reactivity to the field, and the way the research is situated in a specific context that might be difficult to discern and describe (Stewart 1998, 31-2). While acknowledging that it is impossible for a researcher to be completely objective, Stewart's approach of objectivity aims instead for the researcher's ability to go into the field with an open mind and heart, to listen and observe carefully and to be able to see the world from the other's point of view. "Objectivity […] is related to values of alertness, receptivity to the views of others, empathy, and open-mindedness" (ibid., 16). Finally, perspicacity relates to the ability to transfer the research results to comparable contexts that are unrelated to this research. This means that the research needs to be able to generate a level of abstraction from which theories can be deduced that are also applicable to other contexts. "Ethnographic

[30] Both Alex Stewart's and Giampietro Gobo's approaches were originally developed for ethnography, however, as they discuss how to ensure scientific rigour in the field and beyond, they are also applicable for this study.

efforts to generalize begin with abstraction and finish by specifying the social, cultural, and temporal contingencies for which the findings apply" (ibid., 16).

Another approach at transferring the traditional standards of quantitative research into the qualitative realm has been developed by the anthropologist Giampietro Gobo (2008, 264), but instead of 'trustworthiness' he uses the term 'accountability'. Accountability in Gobo's sense is achieved through the following six key factors:

1. Completeness (data is described in its context);
2. Saturation (no relevant data is omitted)
3. Authenticity (the researcher should spend time in the field)
4. Consistency (the same themes are coded in the same way)
5. Credibility (the interpretations drawn from the data make sense)
6. Plausibility (a logical connection between what was known and what is new information)

It is important, Gobo argues, that the researcher reflects critically upon his role in the community he observes, and how his background and biases might influence the data collection and interpretation (ibid., 268-9). He suggests offering the reader what he calls a 'natural history of research': to describe in detail the conditions of the research, potential restraints and obstacles, key conversations etc., so the reader can assess the value of the research himself.

Taking the above approaches into consideration, I have taken steps to ensure trustworthiness/accountability by following these principles:

- Completeness and saturation; the provision of a detailed and complete account of the fieldwork settings, the data collection and data analysis, whereby no relevant data is omitted and the data is described truthfully.
- Authenticity and confirmability; the data collection is conducted by the researcher, who is open-minded and empathetic towards the participants, and reflects carefully upon his limitations and biases and how these might have influenced the fieldwork;
- Credibility; to analyse the data in a consistent manner, to draw conclusions that are supported by the data and are plausible. The use of respondent validation and triangulation, where applicable.

- Perspicacity and transferability; to recognise underlying patterns that could be transferable to other comparable situations, where possible.

By following these principles my aim was to achieve a high degree of transparency of the fieldwork, in the hope that readers can track the process from data collection to analysis and presentation of findings and therefore evaluate the work for themselves.

In the following section I detail what methods I used in the field and critically reflect on my role as a researcher during this process.

Fieldwork

Setting

Most of the fieldwork was conducted in Hobart, Tasmania between November 2014 and November 2015. An additional three interviews took place in Launceston, Tasmania.

Initial contact was established by contacting the local Migrant Resource Centre, who gave me the email addresses of several bicultural workers of the Lhotshampa community. They said that these bicultural workers had good knowledge of the community, as they were regularly hired as interpreters for a wide range of occasions. I sent emails to all the suggested people, introducing myself and my research project, and after a few days I received a response from a young woman called K.[31], who gave me her phone number and invited me to her home.

A few days later I went to K.'s house together with my 4-year-old son, on recommendation of my contact at the Migrant Resource Centre, who said that a child would help me relate to K., as K. had a son of similar age. When we arrived, we were greeted by K and her family. She shared a house with her husband and child, her parents-in-law, and her husband's brother and his girlfriend, an arrangement that is common in Lhotshampa households. Our first meeting went reasonably well, although I was a bit nervous. K. seemed interested in my project and we had tea and biscuits together, while our sons played. The other female members of the family also came to sit with us and we talked for a while. K. was almost fluent in English, while the other members of the family spoke English to varying degrees. K. told me that she would talk with her friends and relations about my project, and ask whether anyone

[31] K. is a pseudonym to ensure confidentiality.

was interested to do an interview with me. We also arranged to meet frequently, so our boys could play together and we could chat. The initial contact was established.

During the next few months I met K. frequently and spent the day with her. Sometimes her husband would join us on excursions. I also started communicating more with her mother and father-in-law and was invited to some social events and family gatherings. While I was slowly building rapport with the Lhotshampa community, I also started conducting my first interviews.

In the initial months I interviewed mostly Australians who worked with the Lhotshampa. Among them were ESL and TasTAFE teachers, GPs, volunteers from local NGOs, and employees of the Migrant Resource Centre and the Department of Social Services.

As all Australian participants had been involved with the Lhotshampa in a professional manner, the conversations tended to revolve around flaws in resettlement procedures or policy, and issues that the community was facing. However, when asked why certain phenomena occurred, the Australian participants' responses all differed, yielding no relevant data. Thus I felt it was time to focus more on the Lhotshampa, in the hope to understand why certain events took place. K. helped me by setting up interviews with people she knew. Attending several social gatherings helped me make additional contacts and I found a few additional people who were interested in participating in an interview.

I also organised a focus group for Lhotshampa women with the help of my contact at the Migrant Resource Centre. This was aimed at discussing in further detail the changes in women's lives after arrival in Tasmania.

In addition to the Lhotshampa and the Australian refugee workers, I interviewed three academics who had experience with conducting research among refugees. These interviews helped me make sense of the experiences I had made in the field and provided me with useful advice regarding my methods. One of these researchers later became an invaluable key informant for this study. He had worked as an ESL teacher in Lhotshampa refugee camps in Nepal and was connected to the Lhotshampa community in Launceston. While I was researching for this study, he conducted a similar project with the Lhotshampa community of northern Tasmania. Being of Nepali origin himself, he acted as interpreter during some

interviews, and due to his close involvement with the community, he was also able to help me clarify some questions.

After about one year I had no further people to interview, and I felt that I had talked about the areas of enquiry exhaustively with K. and my other key informants. A preliminary analysis of the gathered data showed that it was sufficient to answer the research questions, so I felt comfortable leaving the field. The advantage of conducting research close to my home was that I could always return, should additional questions appear.

In hindsight, it proved invaluable to have access to different parties or groups in terms of the verification of data, but also in terms of uncovering cultural differences in responses. As I asked the same questions when interviewing the participants, the responses of the different groups revealed the culturally specific thoughts and attitudes towards the respective themes. Sometimes the interpretations of a phenomenon would be largely homogeneous within each group but differ significantly between groups, sometimes each group came up with the same interpretation, and sometimes responses would differ in each group but show similarities across groups. The first scenario clearly showed the cultural differences between each group, while the last scenario indicated that members of the Lhotshampa had adopted an Australian / local way of interpreting a situation. Overall, the data collection followed a hermeneutic process, as my questions and theories evolved during the fieldwork, especially while moving back and forth across the different groups. The interpretations of one group often triggered new questions that I would then raise with the other group and so forth until the whole situation made sense.

Limitations

Several barriers occurred during this research project. My inexperience as a researcher was the reason for some mistakes especially during the initial research design, others were created by the Tasmanian Human Ethics Committee and by the restrictions of modern day life.

My original research plan included fieldwork in Bhutan, as I wanted to see firsthand how the Lhotshampa had lived before they were forcibly expelled in the 1990s. I wanted to show the contrast between the lives of Lhotshampa farmers in the isolated foothills of south Bhutan and the lives of the Lhotshampa in Tasmania, in order to explore in-depth how the

Lhotshampa had to renegotiate their cultural customs in order to survive first in the refugee camps and then in a culturally very diverse country like Tasmania. However, both insufficient funding and difficulties in obtaining Ethics approval led to the abandonment of this project.

A mistake I made during the initial research design was my plan to conduct a survey among the Lhotshampa population in Tasmania. I had designed a questionnaire that would provide me with an overview of the demographic particularities of the community, including age and gender distribution, religious affiliation, caste affiliation and some other basic data. The aim was to send the questionnaire to as many Lhotshampa as possible, in the hope of receiving sufficient responses for a valid demographic evaluation. However, I soon found out that many of the Lhotshampa were illiterate, and even those who spoke enough English often still struggled to read or write in English. I was also discouraged by some of my informants who said that no one would bother returning the questionnaires, as there was no incentive for the Lhotshampa to go to all this effort. Thus I abandoned this activity as well. The demographic data quoted in this study is therefore based on the censuses of 2011 and 2016, and is most likely not completely accurate, considering that the 2016 census was conducted online, and experienced technical difficulties. Nevertheless, the existing data should still be comprehensive enough to gain an understanding of the demographic setup of the Lhotshampa community.

Another barrier to data collection was the fact that the Lhotshampa did not have a community centre or comparable location where they could meet and spend time together. I had initially assumed that refugees in Tasmania had such a space and was surprised to find out that they had nowhere to gather for social occasions. This made my initial aim to spend extended amounts of time among the community, conducting non-participant and participant observation, impossible. This limited my options to gather data to some degree, and I had to redesign my approach. Luckily, I could gain enough rapport with community members to be invited to social gatherings where I could observe and take notes; also, having close contact with K. and her family provided me with multiple opportunities to experience the Lhotshampa's everyday lives and social sphere.

The Tasmanian Human Ethics Committee created another limitation to recruiting participants, by not allowing me to utilise community leaders in the recruitment process. Their concern was that the community leaders might pressure members into participation,

and because the leaders were in a position of power, voluntary participation of the members could not be guaranteed. This restricted the number of people that were informed about my research, especially as the community leaders had access to some of the subgroups of the community that I could not reach with K.'s help. K. is a member of the Brahmin caste and as such has no contact with the members of the lower castes. I think that the concerns of the Ethics Committee were unfounded. The community leaders had no reason to pressure the members into participation, as they were aware that my research did not present any immediate gains for the community. Had I been allowed to recruit via the leaders I could have talked to some Lhotshampa of the lower castes and include their data into my research. The high rate of illiteracy among the Lhotshampa also meant that the people did not read newspapers or other forms of advertisements, so the only option for me to recruit was by word of mouth, or snowball sampling with the help of the people I knew.

Finally, towards the end of my fieldwork I was told that some of the Lhotshampa were getting frustrated with the amount of research that was being conducted among the community. I found out that in the previous year two other PhD students had already contacted the community, but they had come from a different disciplinary background. I was informed by a member of the community how especially in the initial years a long list of consultants had come to talk to community members about their resettlement. The Lhotshampa felt that they had told the consultants what the issues were, but they never saw any improvements in those areas, which left them feeling resentful towards the consultants. When I entered the field, I believe some of the Lhotshampa thought that I was also not going to be able to improve their situation, which led to a lower interest on their behalf to participate in the research. One participant said fittingly that the Lhotshampa were suffering from 'research-fatigue'. In hindsight, I believe that most of my interviewees came to talk to me and help me with me project because they liked me, or because they were curious or wanted to tell their story, not because they thought that my study would have a positive impact on their situation.

Sample, recruitment and representativeness

Due to these limitations, my sample was smaller than initially planned, and the recruitment for the interviews was opportunistic; I conducted interviews with everyone who volunteered to participate. The interviews were initiated through snowball-sampling. My contacts among the Lhotshampa asked their friends and family members whether they wanted to participate

in interviews and provided them with copies of the information sheet and consent forms. Sometimes my contacts arranged the interviews for me, and sometimes potential candidates would contact me personally to set up a time and place. Altogether I interviewed 22 people - 11 Lhotshampa, 10 Australians, and one person from Nepal.

The group of Lhotshampa consisted of six men and five women of whom two people were between 20 and 30, one between 30 and 40, four between 40 and 50, two between 50 and 60 and two older than 60. All interview participants were Hindus. While I did not ask them directly about their caste affiliation, I know through consultation with K. that at least 9 out of the 11 participants were members of the two highest castes, the Brahmins and the Chhetris.

The group of Australians consisted of one man and nine women. Of those, one participant was between 30 and 40, five were between 40 and 65, and four were older than 65.

Finally, the participant from Nepal was male and in his thirties.

The Australian participants were recruited similarly to the Lhotshampa by word of mouth. I initiated contact by sending out emails to the main organisations responsible for the resettlement of the Lhotshampa. Two people responded and I arranged interviews with them. They recommended a list of other people they thought I should talk to, and provided me with their contact details. This led to the recruitment of the other Australian participants. The imbalance between female and male participants among my Australian recruits is due to the fact that most people employed and/or volunteering in the refugee sector in Tasmania are female.

As mentioned before, I also ran a focus group with 11 female participants. The recruitment here was again opportunistic, apart from the fact that the participants had to be female. I did not ask the women any personal questions, as I did not want them to feel singled out or uncomfortable. Most women were aged between 20 – 40, with one or two members being over 40. Nine of the eleven participants were Hindus, one was Christian and one was Buddhist.

In addition to the interview and focus group participants, I talked to approximately 20 – 25 other Lhotshampa that I met at a range of public meetings or social gatherings. These included

for example the annual International Women's Gathering in Hobart, a Hindu wedding, several family gatherings and a dinner party.

The data that I gained from the 22 interviews, the focus group, the range of additional conversations and the participant observation proved sufficient to answer the research questions. While the sample of interview participants was smaller as initially planned, this was compensated by the collaborative relationship that I developed with my key informants. As they took an interest in the study, we had frequent in-depth discussions about various areas, and I had a point of contact whenever new questions occurred. This proved particularly relevant for this study, as it allowed me to explore why certain events or processes occurred. This observation is also supported by Alex Stewart (1998, 23), who suggests that a small sample size is less problematic when the researcher has a special collaboration with the insiders. An additional bonus was that I could speak to two culturally diverse groups at the same time. This helped me to confirm certain information and, even more importantly, uncover the 'hidden' topics that the Lhotshampa did not want to become known. While I regretted not having access to Hindus from the lower castes, I believe that the challenges they were facing during resettlement were potentially similar to those of the higher castes, at least in terms of dealing with housing, employment, education and other practical matters, a fact that was also confirmed by the Australian professionals. Overall, I gained the impression that it was not so much the Lhotshampa's religious or caste affiliation that determined their resettlement, but instead a wide range of factors including each member's family and social network, previous education, age, personal traits, individual history and more, especially as the previously rigid caste separation had already begun to dissolve.

Methods

Stewart suggests that it is often useful to use more than one method to gather data. The usage of multiple sources such as academic literature, public documents, internet research, participant and non-participant observation, interviews and focus groups is a good way of confirming that the collected data is valid. If multiple sources confirm the same data, the researcher may feel more confident about the reliability of his data than if he had used only one source (ibid., 28). Accordingly, a range of data collection methods was utilised during fieldwork. The interviews, participant observation and focus group were supplemented by thorough internet research, which yielded a range of Lhotshampa publications, such as

YouTube videos, Facebook groups, articles and websites of Lhotshampa organisations in Australia and internationally.

Internet research

The information found on the internet was utilised not so much as a form of data gathering, but to gain an understanding of the Lhotshampa community, in particular of the young Lhotshampa whose technological knowledge enabled them to create webpages, films and groups on the internet. For example, there are several short films on YouTube made by young Lhotshampa, which depict clearly the challenges that the younger generation faces during resettlement in Western countries. Photos and comments on Facebook show how young Lhotshampa dress and what music they listen to. None of this information was utilised as data, but it gave me ideas about the existing opinions and viewpoints among some of the Lhotshampa subgroups, that I could then discuss with my informants. As such, the internet was a useful tool to gain some understanding of the community and to generate ideas.

Interviews

The interview questions were based on the research questions and can be found in Appendices A and B. The interviews all took place in people's homes and, where necessary, were attended by an interpreter. All interviews were designed to be semi-structured and between 30 to 60 minutes in length. The participants were given an information sheet and consent form which they had to sign before the interview could proceed. When a Lhotshampa participant had difficulty understanding the content of these forms, I explained the key points, sometimes with the help of the interpreter, to make sure the participants knew what the research was about and what their rights as participants were. The participants then signed the consent form and the interview began. The conversations were recorded via an audio-recording device, and a notepad was also always at hand to make notes of anything that seemed significant at the time, or that required following up later. While I conducted all interviews in Hobart face-to-face, two participants from Launceston were interviewed via video-call using skype. For both skype interviews an interpreter from Launceston was present. He interpreted the content of the consent form to the participants, and showed them where to sign the documents while I watched via skype. Apart from sitting in front of a screen I cannot say that there was much difference to face-to-face interviews. Both I and the participants were possibly more relaxed, due to less physical proximity.

The first few questions in each interview revolved around the personal details of the participants. As these questions could be answered easily, I found it helped to make the participants feel more confident about the interview. In terms of the content my aim was to discuss a few key areas in depth, rather than covering a broad range of subjects, in order to be able to understand why certain events or processes occurred and under what circumstances. It also gave the participants room to elaborate on areas they found important, and I was happy to oblige provided the focus remained topical. Some interviews were thus transformed into a constructive conversation, where the participant and I developed new knowledge in collaboration. Being flexible with my interview questions occasionally also led to the discovery of new relevant data in areas that I had not considered before. When breaching difficult topics such as domestic violence or racist experiences, the participants were never asked whether they had experienced these issues themselves, but instead whether they knew of anyone this had happened to. Even with this approach there were certain themes that the Lhotshampa did not want to discuss with me. When asked about experiences of racist abuse or discrimination, for example, every Lhotshampa denied having any knowledge of it. The Australian refugee workers on the other hand could list multiple occasions where the Lhotshampa had been treated unfairly because of their origin. It seemed that the Lhotshampa did not feel comfortable discussing certain topics that could reflect negatively on the community, or that they did not want any outsiders involved in issues like domestic violence. My key informant from the Migrant Resource Centre suggested that the Lhotshampa prefer to handle these affairs by themselves, especially as they are still uncertain how far they can trust the Australian authorities.

While the Lhotshampa seemed to feel reluctant to talk about certain themes, they were freely discussing other topics. Gobo (2008, 195) warns that some informants might falsify information to show themselves in a better light, or because they think they can achieve personal gains by collaborating with the researcher. However, I never had the impression that the Lhotshampa were following an agenda when talking to me, maybe because they knew that I was not in a position to help them improve their personal situation. When I asked my participants about their motivation to attend an interview, some said that they wanted their story to be told, and others said that they hoped that I would improve the resettlement procedures for future refugees. Thus, they had no reason to falsify what they told me and we

could discuss their experiences in Tasmania openly, apart from the areas that were restricted for outsiders like myself.

The Australian participants seemed to be similarly motivated. As they all worked with the Lhotshampa professionally, they told me about their challenges with the system and had plenty of suggestions on how to improve it. The Australian participants were clearly interested in adjusting certain resettlement policies and thus had also no reason to manipulate information for personal gains.

The role of the interpreters

K. had been hired regularly as interpreter before, mainly by the local hospital to interpret with doctor – patient conversations, which assured me that she was well qualified to interpret during my interviews. Her assistance in the interviews proved invaluable, as she not only interpreted for me, but also helped both me and the participant understand each other's questions and point of view. K. was therefore not only translating our words, but also bridged the cultural gap in the conversations, making the interviews richer in material and understanding. Naturally there was a risk that K. interpreted what was said to her in a way that suited her purposes, however, she seemed so conscientious and serious about her profession as interpreter that I never had any doubts about her integrity when working for me. The other risk was that K's own biases would influence her interpretations, but what she said was easily verifiable in conversations with other Lhotshampa, so I never had the impression that she got things wrong. In fact, she was probably in a much better position than I to judge what was going in the Lhotshampa community, as she had been among the first people to arrive, and she had witnessed the whole resettlement process among her friends and relations for several years.

The same applied to the interpreter whom I used during the two skype interviews. He was born in Nepal but had lived in Australia for many years and spoke English fluently. As he was not a member of the Lhotshampa community, he had no interest in modifying his interpretations in any way.

Focus group

While spending time with the Lhotshampa I observed that the Lhotshampa women often stayed in the background and appeared more reserved when there were men around than

when they were by themselves. The same occurred in two interviews where couples had agreed to meet me. The women hardly said a word during the interview unless directly asked, while the men spoke for themselves, their wives, and other family members. I had by that time gained some ideas of what was going on in the community, and that one of the big changes was that the Lhotshampa women were becoming educated and entering the work force. As I wanted to enquire further as to what this meant for the women and their families, I decided to run a focus group just with Lhotshampa women, as I thought that they would be able to speak more freely when their husbands weren't present. I organised a meeting in the local library with the help of a staff member of the MRC. We had initially planned to run a group with five women, but in the end eleven women came plus their children. As suspected, the women felt comfortable and the discussion was soon very lively, with the interpreter doing her best to convey the essentials of the conversation to me. I had planned to discuss five questions, however, we ended up talking solely about the women's difficulties with resettlement in Tasmania. This discussion was not audio-recorded, but I had prepared large sheets of paper where we could note down the women's key responses and their explanations. This discussion added a new layer of depth to my data, as the women could speak freely about their struggle to combine the demands of a western life-style with traditional Bhutanese ideals of women's roles and norms of behaviour.

Participant observation

Observation, both participatory and non-participatory occurred on various occasions, for example during public events or celebrations, but also frequently in the family context. As I spent a lot of time with K. and her family and took them out on daytrips, I could see how they interacted both with each other and with the Tasmanian population. When at home, friends or relatives regularly came to visit. As they usually all switched to talking in Nepali, I got plenty of opportunity to sit back and watch their interactions. Attending social events such as parties and weddings proved valuable in a range of ways. First, it was an opportunity to meet people, chat and recruit for interviews. While small-talk with the Lhotshampa was limited and sometimes awkward due to the language barrier, it still yielded some relevant data. Second, it felt like the Lhotshampa were getting used to me being among them and they started to trust me more and possibly my good intentions regarding the research. Third, and probably most importantly, it felt like spending this time in the field put things into perspective. I

became better at seeing the world from the point of view of the Lhotshampa, I knew how they normally spent their days, what meals they prepared, what vegetables they grew in their backyards, what television shows they liked; simply put what their everyday lives were like. I cannot say that I got access to the Lhotshampa's 'backstage'; there were certain areas that they did not discuss with me, such as the quarrels that went on inside the community, or the fights over leadership or cultural traditions. I was aware of these issues through some of my key informants; however, whenever I broached those subjects with the Lhotshampa they claimed to not know anything about it.

Data collection and analysis

All interviews were audio-recorded and then transcribed verbatim. The notes that I made during interviews were either added to a participant's recording or stored separately according to their content. While I was conducting fieldwork I also kept a diary where I wrote down my personal impressions and reflected upon my experiences in the field. Apart from my diary all relevant data that I had gathered during fieldwork, such as the worksheets from my focus group and other notes that I had taken from time to time when I was observing members of the Lhotshampa community, were digitalised and stored in my laptop. All relevant paper documents were then stored in my office at the university.

I transcribed the interviews usually within two days after I had met the participant. This helped me remember other details that occurred during the interview, such as personal impressions of the participant or anything else that seemed relevant. I then added these memos to the participant's file. Transcribing the interviews soon after they occurred was also useful as I could gather first ideas of themes or areas of interest, and then follow them up in subsequent interviews. This allowed me to discard certain lines of enquiry early on, as I could find no evidence of their existence in the field, or they were impossible to discuss with the Lhotshampa. For example, I was initially aiming to confirm that the Lhotshampa in Tasmania saw themselves as part of a global diaspora, but it became quickly clear that the Lhotshampa had little or no contact with other Bhutanese around the globe, apart from family members. So I discarded this theory. Similar adjustments occurred a few times and led to a narrowing focus of my line of enquiries.

After about 10 months in the field the data that I gathered started to repeat itself, confirming already existing information. This suggested that my lines of enquiry were sufficiently

saturated. When it looked like I could gather no new data without shifting my focus, I was comfortable to conclude fieldwork.

I imported all my files into the software program Nvivo. Repeated reading of the transcripts and notes revealed themes that were coded accordingly and grouped into broad nodes like family, housing and identity. Where necessary, data was sorted into multiple categories. After all data had been arranged into nodes, I refined the content of these nodes by dividing them further into sub-nodes where applicable. No data was excluded in this process.

The results that revolved around the challenges of resettlement were easily validated by the Lhotshampa. There seemed to be overall consensus on the main difficulties that occurred, as well as where improvements were needed. The acculturative changes that I had found were also largely confirmed by my informants.

When writing up the findings I attempted to stay as true to the source as possible, to minimise the risk of modifying the information through my own biases. Various first-person accounts were included, to enable readers to draw their own conclusions based on the data provided. For the same reason I also included as much data as possible in the findings chapter, omitting only information that seemed irrelevant for the focus of this study.

My role as researcher and how it influenced the research

My background as a well-educated woman from Germany who worked for the university influenced the research in a range of ways. Evidently my cultural background and that of the Lhotshampa differed significantly, which led to misunderstandings between me and some of my Lhotshampa informants, and to some discomfort for myself; there were various situations where I felt confused about the behaviour of the Lhotshampa, or even offended. However, I tried hard to not show these feelings and not to feel resentment towards the Lhotshampa, as I thought that these situations occurred because of the cultural gap and not because people were trying to offend me. On the other hand there were also many occasions where people were very welcoming and affectionate towards me, which balanced the negative experiences out. Still, doing fieldwork among the Lhotshampa was emotionally challenging, and it was sometimes hard to relax in their company. The situation seemed to require that I played two roles at the same time, that of a professional researcher and that of a friend, and I found this very difficult to combine. I also felt guilty for taking up so much of their time for my research.

K.'s family was always welcoming to me and I felt like I was just taking what I needed without giving back. This feeling became quite overwhelming at times. It didn't feel right to regularly enter their homes, take up their time, ask intrusive questions and rely on their help to get my project done without being able to reciprocate. What helped me a lot when I struggled with this situation was to speak with some other researchers who had worked with refugees. I felt relieved when I found out that they had had similar experiences in the field, so I could frame these experiences as being part of conducting qualitative research among refugees. I learned a lot about myself as a researcher during this time, and about the conflicting emotions one can experience in the field. It became clear to me that the only kind of refugee research that I could support was one that is reciprocal, and that welcomes the collaboration of the research participants in order to develop objectives that do not only suit the researcher, but are also useful to the participants. From that point I saw my role as researcher as that of an intermediary between the refugee community and the host society, recording the refugees' ideas on how to improve the resettlement process, while at the same time helping them to work out solutions that are realistic.

As mentioned above, being an outsider also meant that the Lhotshampa did not talk to me about certain struggles that occurred in the community. My key informant among the Australian refugee workers, who had been involved with the Lhotshampa from their arrival in Tasmania, had more insider information about what was going on in the community, and she shared it freely with me. However, whenever I tried to confirm the information that she had given me with my Lhotshampa informants, they changed the subject or claimed they did not know anything about it. They clearly did not want this knowledge to become public, which I could understand, so I never insisted on getting responses to those questions. As a young refugee community trying to establish itself the Lhotshampa probably did not want to create a negative public image.

This experience of being an outsider had both advantages and disadvantages for the research. I think that a researcher from a similar cultural background as the Lhotshampa would have found it easier to spend time among the community, and would have potentially been more successful in obtaining insider information. At the same time I think that being an outsider had the advantage that people trusted me more with their personal stories, thoughts, and feelings because they didn't need to be concerned that I was going to tell other members of

the community. Additionally, as I had the 'stranger' perspective, I could detect the Lhotshampa's cultural particularities more easily than an 'insider', thereby adding a different layer of depth to the study. Having said that, the concept of insider/outsider only seems appropriate in terms of cultural background; on many other levels I found I could relate easily, for example as a mother, as a married woman, and as a migrant from a NES background. All things considered, I would like to suggest that being an outsider culturally does not necessarily have to be a disadvantage during research. Ideally ethnographers should be able to change from stranger to insider during fieldwork, however, as current researchers often have limited funding and time for their projects, this might not always be possible. In these situations researchers should choose projects that do not require prolonged immersion into a foreign culture, but can be achieved from an outsider perspective.

Being a woman also influenced the research in that I certainly spent more time among the Lhotshampa women than the men. While in K.'s family everyone was friendly towards me, the women were certainly more inclined to connect with me on a personal level and become friends, while the men were respectful but seemed less interested in me as a person. I am unsure whether this imbalance has influenced the research significantly. While I certainly spent more time among the Lhotshampa women, the interviews with the Lhotshampa men were on average more productive and richer in data, which was mostly due to the men speaking significantly better English than the women I interviewed. One could criticise that I conducted only a focus group with women, and not also one with men. However, I had gathered the women to follow one particular line of enquiry, which explored the change from the traditional women's roles as housewives and mothers to women who were in full-time employment while still having to fulfil all their previous duties. As I was in a similar situation myself at the time, I was particularly interested in how they were coping with this new lifestyle. Also, I was hoping to draw out some of the women who would never agree to participate in an interview, but who felt comfortable talking about their lives in a group. The men, on the other hand, did not seem to have undergone such a major change after arrival in Australia, so I did not feel that I needed to run a focus group with just men. It would have also felt slightly inappropriate for me as a woman to run a group that focusses on men's issues. Considering the circumstances, I think that the data that I gathered on the practical challenges

of resettlement is balanced in terms of gender distribution. However, in terms of cultural adjustment the data might be more focussed on the female perspective of the situation.

Ethical considerations

Due to the nature of this study, various ethical issues needed to be addressed, including the vulnerability of the participants, how to ensure informed consent when communicating with participants who are illiterate and speak only limited English, and the moral dilemma to decide whether certain information about the community should be published if it tells a story that the community wants to keep hidden. Going through the Tasmanian Ethics application process made me aware of a range of issues that could occur during research, and provided me with some rules around working with vulnerable people. However, the Committee's recommendations naturally could not account for many of the decisions that had to be made during the fieldwork process. Sluka (2012, 303-4) suggests that no anthropological code of ethics could ever cover all possible situations, so researchers should negotiate rules in the field with their participants. Keeping this in mind I used my own moral judgment to guide me through any issues, and when in doubt I asked a trusted participant about the appropriateness of my actions.

Summary

I introduced this chapter by providing an overview of qualitative research methodology. I detailed how a qualitative approach relates to the objectives of this study, and why its methods are suitable to gather the data required to address these objectives, before discussing why quantitative scientific principles cannot be applied to qualitative research and should be replaced by the principle of trustworthiness/accountability. Following this, I provided an overview of the fieldwork setting, its limitations and sample and delineated how these factors influenced the research, before briefly describing the methods used during fieldwork. The processes of data collection and analysis were also outlined. I concluded this chapter by reflecting on my role as researcher during the research process and how ethical considerations were addressed that occurred due to the nature of this study. In the next chapter I describe my findings, providing potential interpretations of each result and discussing these with reference to comparable studies on this topic.

Chapter 6 - Findings/Discussion

This chapter constitutes a combination of findings and discussion. When I sorted the data I had collected, I found that the results formed a collection of heterogeneous sections; to ensure overall coherence and readability it seemed therefore more appropriate to interpret each section after presenting the respective data instead of writing the discussion as a separate chapter.

The following section is divided into three parts. In the first part I describe how the Lhotshampa experience their resettlement and examine what the main integrative challenges are. I interpret each area and compare it – where possible - to existing scholarly research on the topic. The second part revolves around the acculturative changes in the Lhotshampa community. Here I explore what areas have changed the most, what local customs have been adopted, what traditional cultural elements the Lhotshampa aim to preserve, and what factors inhibit acculturative adjustment. Following this I discuss how the Lhotshampa negotiated these acculturative changes. In the third and final part I explore feelings of national identity and belonging among the Lhotshampa with the aim to examine how these notions are influenced by people's histories and perceptions.

Part 1 - Resettlement outcomes and challenges

While exploring the challenges of resettlement, my priority was to focus on the Lhotshampa's point of view: how do they experience their resettlement, and what would they like to see improved? Thus, while there are many aspects in the resettlement process worth exploring, I restricted my research to those aspects that the Bhutanese considered most important. During fieldwork, however, I also became aware of a number of hidden issues that the Bhutanese never mentioned, such as racial discrimination and domestic violence. Conversations with Australian refugee workers confirmed that these were indeed relevant for the community; it was suggested that the Bhutanese might not feel comfortable talking about these matters, especially not to outsiders. I realised how important it was to cross-reference the information I gained, which helped me to create a more comprehensive overview of the community and existing difficulties. However, I do not claim that the following section delivers a complete summary of existing problems; it only describes those that were raised by the community or that became obvious during research.

Arrival

Centacare provides the initial HSS services for the Bhutanese community in and around Hobart, while the MRC in Launceston is responsible for the Lhotshampa in northern Tasmania. Both follow similar resettlement procedures. Each Bhutanese family is assigned a case manager and a number of volunteers to provide intensive support during the first six to twelve months.

Newly arrived refugees are welcomed by their respective case managers and volunteers at the airport. They are then driven to temporary housing facilities, where each family is allocated their own unit. All basic necessities for the first few days are provided. The volunteers explain how to use the different appliances inside the unit, and cook dinner for the family. During the next days the volunteers introduce the refugees to relevant services: they apply for bank cards, register with Medicare and explain the Metro bus system, take the families shopping and show them the area. Over the next few months the volunteers then help the refugees find rental accommodation[32], organise their English lessons and try to set up long-term plans to help them achieve their individual goals. Volunteers are for many refugees the most important initial connection to the Australian community, and they help with a wide range of issues and emergencies. Many Bhutanese have remained in touch with 'their' volunteers after the official service provision period has ended.

Regarding the difficulties of the initial 12 months, one needs to distinguish between the first Bhutanese families arriving in Tasmania, and those who came later. The early families had to struggle the most, having no fellow countrymen around to socialise with or ask for help. By contrast, those Bhutanese who arrived in Tasmania after the community had been established have described a lot less difficulty in adjusting, as they have ready access to a co-cultural support network.

> Still it was very hard for us, not only for two weeks, for nearly for 2, 3 months because there were no Bhutanese people earlier than that, we were the first ones, we have to learn everything, using all the stoves and this and that, vacuuming and dishwashers and what else, washing machine and all these things and even when you have a problem, if you really think that scares you, you have to put 000 so all these things … it was a little bit scary at the time so for a few months so but anyway, all the volunteers they help a

[32] Colony 47 provides guarantors and organises bond payments for refugees' first rentals.

> lot and we are pretty lucky, because being the first they help us everywhere. (Bhutanese man, 48)

Apart from the services provided by Centacare and the Launceston MRC, refugees receive additional support through the SPP (Special Preparatory Program). This program, which is run by TasTAFE (north and south), targets newly arrived refugees during their first months, and continues for 100 hours. This program is run by ESL teachers and interpreters; they take small groups of refugees on excursions around town and show them the main facilities and services, like the police station, the main post office, the MRC and the hospital. The SPP classes are held in an informal manner in groups not exceeding 12 participants. Apart from taking the students out and about, the groups meet weekly to discuss settlement topics like housing, tenancy, shopping, Australian law and society etc. During this time the refugees' English capabilities are assessed and they are allocated to English classes within AMEP (Adult Migrant English Program, run by TasTAFE) according to their proficiency. AMEP targets migrants whose English is not yet 'functional'; each refugee is typically eligible for 510 hours of English lessons, but there are ways of extending these hours (see more under 'education' below).

Initially it is very hard for the refugees to understand the Australian English accent, even for those who had access to English education in the refugee camps. Also, the refugees' pronunciation is strongly accentuated, making mutual communication between refugees and volunteers or other Australians difficult. The inability to talk to neighbours and other people in the street has often been voiced as a source of frustration; it isolates the families in terms of social contact and turns simple transactions like food shopping or taking the bus into major challenges. For most people these problems lessen in the first year, however, as they get used to hearing the Australian accent and participate in English lessons.

How to get from A to B is another concern for many Lhotshampa in the beginning, with the refugees being unfamiliar with city bus systems and struggling to decipher the timetables, especially those refugees who cannot read. It is particularly daunting for mothers, who need to be able to deliver and pick up their children from school within two weeks of arrival, often leaving them scared of losing their way or not being at school at the appropriate times. A few people told me they still hadn't worked out the bus system after one year; others might know how to get to work and back, but nowhere else. Nevertheless, most people seem to be able to use local transport within a few months sufficiently enough for their needs. The SPP

program, where groups get taken on walks around town, has been described as immensely helpful in that respect. People felt more confident once they could identify a few places, which gave them the courage to venture out and explore the town bit by bit on their own.

Food is often mentioned directly after language in terms of initial challenges; most Bhutanese do not like Australian takeaway, but they don't know where to get the ingredients to cook traditional Bhutanese food. After a few months most Bhutanese have identified shops where they can get appropriate ingredients, but until then not being able to eat what one likes appears to be a problem for many.

> The food, it looks good from outside, when you take home and eat is very sweetie, you know, so we throw, we throw lots of food at the beginning. (Bhutanese man, 24)

> Very different food, yeah! (Laughs) I'm still crying and then I don't like eat this food and then still crying… (Bhutanese woman, 46)

> We tried and tried and tried to find potatoes we like. But they all taste like water, finally we found pinkeye potatoes, and that's all we eat now. (Bhutanese woman, 29)

The Lhotshampa were content with the initial transitory accommodation, and many expressed happiness at being in a safe place. People usually start looking for their own rental accommodation with help from the volunteers within the first few months. Sometimes it is hard to find affordable housing, as many Bhutanese have extended families, but it does not appear to be a major difficulty.

> At least we got, at least we got the toilet and I LOVED the bath, the bathrooms. Like in our place we just, it's not that much, uh what do you call, separate place? Just by yourself, with our hands, when I come here with the locked door in the bathroom just by yourself, no one can see it, I loved it. (Bhutanese woman, 29)

Regarding government services like Medicare and Centrelink, many Lhotshampa described an ongoing confusion about how to access their services; they were unsure about their rights and entitlements, and they found filling out forms and following formal procedures difficult.

Despite these difficulties, most Lhotshampa felt they knew enough to survive after a period ranging from two to twelve months. The families I had the opportunity to meet had all been in Tasmania for more than five years and were fully self-sufficient. If issues occurred that they could not resolve themselves, they knew whom to ask to get the necessary information.

Discussion

It appears that Australia's HSS scheme offers a high quality of service and support for refugees, an evaluation that is also supported by Fozdar and Hartley, who state that Australia has one of the best resettlement schemes worldwide (Fozdar and Hartley 2013, 1), and offers a higher standard than the USA. As I discussed earlier, Shrestha suggested that the Lhotshampa in some areas of the USA are expected to become financially self-sufficient after a few months, that hardly any resources or services are available (Shrestha 2011, 43), and that staff are not appropriately trained in cultural awareness, so that refugees are sometimes treated in a disrespectful and patronising manner (ibid., 64-5).

Problematic in this initial period is only the lack of English proficiency of many of the Lhotshampa. They struggle to communicate with their volunteers and the outside world, and are therefore often hesitant to explore their surroundings by themselves. The current approach whereby established refugees are recruited as volunteers to help newcomers can help alleviate these initial challenges.

The Bhutanese family

Young Bhutanese

Lhotshampa children have usually undergone several years of formal schooling in a range of subjects in the refugee camps. Some were sent by their families to schools in India or Nepal to complement their education. Thus young Bhutanese arriving in Australia often speak good English, and can read and write at least in their first language Nepali, if not English. They learn to understand the Australian accent quickly and are able to communicate within a short time. In contrast, many people of the older generation are illiterate, and speak little or no English at all. Young Bhutanese seem to be able to adapt and understand the new Australian system much more quickly than their parents, which might be due not only to their age but, according to a refugee worker, also to being exposed to Western culture in Nepal and India; as a result, they do not seem to suffer from culture shock as much as their parents and grandparents do. The girls, especially, have been described as curious, feisty and engaged when it comes to learning about their new home and language.

Many young Bhutanese, being so much faster at adapting culturally and learning the language, feel a strong sense of responsibility to look after their parents after arrival in

Tasmania. Some young Bhutanese feel even somewhat responsible for their parents' happiness:

> You know, it depends like what kind of family you are, what kind of daughter and son you have, like depends how they help with you, you know? For me my parents worked very hard to grow up, rise up, they give us good education, down here they only speak English, I speak English, I can work hard, they can't, so now it's time they can just stay at home. You know, look after the kids, and look movies, look the news, read the holy book, stay happily, you know? So we are the persons working hard now. (Bhutanese man, 24)

But this also causes problems. As family obligations are strong, young people often have to give up their own commitments like school or work in order to help their parents or grandparents, which can put a strain on their relationship.

> But it's those, say 16-24, 25-year-olds, that have got lots of opportunity, if they were given the space, but they all have lots of responsibilities put on them, you know? Parents and grandparents and things and that is really hard. And expectations. (Female TasTAFE teacher)

In terms of social inclusion one teacher reported that the young Bhutanese seem to enjoy spending time with Anglo-Australians or migrants from other countries. They seem to be able to foster friendships within their own community just as much as within the wider Australian community.

Intergenerational conflict

Several of my informants stated that in many Lhotshampa families there is frequent struggle between the older and the younger generation. It was suggested that young Lhotshampa do not get enough freedom, that they are being too strictly controlled by the older generation; daughters in particular are expected to not get involved with boys and thus shame the family, or to not neglect other traditional filial duties. Dating between young Lhotshampa men and women is only allowed in the lead-up to a marriage sanctioned by both sets of parents. If young Lhotshampa date potential partners without their parents' permission, the consequences can range from physical punishment to being cast out by the parents, and ostracism by the community. However, I met several young couples who had dated and got married even though at least one set of parents had been against the relationship. This was possible because the young people earned their own money and did not have to rely on their community or their parents to survive. While they met with disapproval from some sections

of the community, other people seemed to reluctantly accept their behaviour. I spoke to a father who had taken in his son's girlfriend against her parents' wishes; he explained that times were changing now that they lived in Australia, and thought that people needed to be more tolerant and open-minded. This indicates that traditional patterns are slowly changing, however, to what extent will be revealed in the coming years.

Last, as young Bhutanese spend a lot of time with Anglo-Australian peers due to being in the same schools together, they develop a wish to fit in, which is often frowned upon by their parents and grandparents. Conflicts arise regularly between the generations, as the young people strive to adjust to the new society, while their elders expect them to follow traditional rules.

> It's like this, you know, we always have the advantage and disadvantage, with anything like, you know. Coming to Australia is very advantage, on the other hand very disadvantage. Everything has the advantage, disadvantage. The same thing with culture old people and young people. Young people they just want to do things how they like, but old people always think "you have to do it like this, the way we did it", you know? So it was, is always hard, even me as well sometimes, my dad said 'go this way' and I do other way because I know that way, you know? So is quite confusing sometimes, but our parents and our elderly people they know is Western countries and you know, we has to be more like Western, open, you know? (Bhutanese son, 24)

> In my house children like, we share everything to children and we just come here as recently, it's not been a long time, they haven't adopt the Australian culture yet, so whatever I suggest them, they follow me, so I'm quite happy with what they are doing, so yeah, they haven't adopt any Australian culture which makes me feel happy. (Bhutanese father, 50)

Parents also struggle to come to terms with the fact that they have lost a lot of authority since coming to Tasmania; parents and elders were well respected in Bhutan, both for their knowledge and their capabilities to provide food for the family, while in Tasmania they must often rely on their children for support in many aspects of their lives. This leaves the older generations feeling disempowered; they feel that they have lost their right to direct or give advice to their children, even though they might disapprove of their offspring's behaviour.

Discussion

Intergenerational conflict thus arises both because the Lhotshampa youths culturally adjust more quickly and to a greater extent than the older generations find acceptable, and also because of the loss of status of the older Lhotshampa and their reliance on the young

generation. These intergenerational struggles were also observed in Kim and Till's study on Bhutanese refugee children and their identity development in the USA (Kim and Till 2015, 13-4), and in Bhattarai's study on integration challenges of Bhutanese refugees in Norway (Bhattarai 2014, 39-40). Kim and Till (2015, 15) suggest that it is beneficial for children and young people to develop a bicultural identity that embraces both traditional and new values and customs, indicating the need for an environment where multiculturalism is promoted and encouraged.

Women

Before their dispersal in the 1990s, Lhotshampa families in Bhutan used to live according to the patriarchal society model of their Nepalese ancestors. In most cases women moved after their wedding into their husband's home, where they looked after the husband's extended family and the couple's future children[33]. Lhotshampa women were expected to stay at home, and tend to the house, garden and fields, and were thus considerably restricted in their lifestyle choices (Jones and Boyd 2011, 1266). Important decisions were usually discussed in the family circle, but the oldest or most capable male person[34] had the final say. However, since coming to Australia, this traditional task distribution has changed and women now seek employment just like their husbands. Due to this change, many women are now confronted with the double burden of not only having to go to work, but also with having to look after the house and garden and tend to the needs of the extended family, which generally includes the husband's parents, a number of children, and potentially some unmarried brothers and sisters, without having any support network of their own. While in some families women struggle significantly to fulfil these competing demands, others described how they experienced a feeling of empowerment at being able to earn their own money. However, the women's newly gained independence can lead to some men feeling somewhat shamed or under pressure:

[33] There are exceptions to this rule, for example a man may choose to live with his wife's parents in families where there are only daughters, to lend support.

[34] At some point fathers/grandfathers seem to transfer the responsibility of being head of the family to their sons, possibly when they stop being the main financial providers. In Australia this can happen much earlier, as young men frequently provide the largest part of the family income; however, this can also burden young Bhutanese men with responsibilities they are not yet capable of.

> After six months my wife got a job house-keeping. I was frustrated because my wife was earning money and I wasn't. That's not appropriate in our culture. I had to think positively and tell myself that it was good that she had a job. (Bhutanese man, 48)

The families that I met myself had all developed individual solutions to family organisation, depending on their situation: in one family, where everyone was employed, all tasks around the house and garden were equally shared between all members, and the young child was looked after by whoever was at home; in another family the woman attended school all week while her husband worked, but he took the children for the weekends to give his wife time to do other things; in yet another family, the woman did not want to find a job: she felt comfortable looking after the extended family and keeping her house in order.

> First, I want to make my wife independent here, by which I mean give some training, give some time for the training and the English, and then, when she's able to do, find job, then I start family and then I'm thinking that she has to grow … Otherwise if we just start the family, then after five years she has to go English class or she has to go for training, I feel that will push our development back, so I feel that she needs to be capable here first, and then think for the family, and then after five years she will start doing job. (Bhutanese man, 30)

Some female refugee workers suggested that Bhutanese women had a long way to go in terms of becoming equal to their husbands, and were keen to encourage the women to stand up and assert their rights. Their viewpoint differed significantly from that of some Lhotshampa women, however, who suggested that there was no gender inequality in the community. When I asked a group of women if they thought they stood on equal footing with their husbands, they all insisted proudly that that was the case; at the same time they asserted that it gave them pleasure to be able to look up to their husbands; even though they were working and earning money themselves, they still wanted their men to remain the head of the family. I noted another discrepancy in the women's behaviour towards their husbands depending on what environment the family was in; while a few women adopted a somewhat meek and restrained attitude when accompanying their husbands in public, they were confident to assert their rights at home. This shows that the relationship between husbands and wives in Bhutanese families is based on a complex set of rules and obligations, and what is shown to the outside world is not necessarily what happens at home, making it difficult to determine whether or not the Lhotshampa women are disadvantaged in their marriages.

The major challenge with regard to the women's domain is an alleged increase in domestic violence since the Lhotshampa's arrival in Tasmania. Several refugee workers I talked to stated that a lot of physical and emotional violence occurs in the Bhutanese community; it was suggested that the amount of violence towards women had increased due to the men feeling a loss of control over their women because of the women's increased opportunities and independence. I carefully approached the issue with a few Lhotshampa women, only to be reassured that it only happened in those families where the husbands were 'uneducated and drank', and that it was rather rare; however, I gained the impression that the women did not like to talk about the situation. The following quotes were recorded at a meeting with Bhutanese women and representatives of the MRC south:

> In our culture even if we have a bad husband, we accept that. We know the religion doesn't accept that, but when we think about having a husband and a home, I like that better than being alone here even if my husband is bad.
>
> No organisation here to support women. If a husband hurts his wife, no-one goes near them because they don't want to get involved, it's considered to be their problem. No-one helped me, I just lived with violence. The children were also beaten. I couldn't protect myself or them.
>
> If someone was violent within a family, we wouldn't want to hear about it and bring things up. If the family wants us to help, we will. Otherwise, no, because we might give help the wrong way …we would help if it's really bad or if they were Australian or outside then we would call the police.
>
> Men don't like to see women have a community for themselves and have fun together. If they don't tolerate this situation, your husband might divorce you, so it's safer to obey …women are scared that if they get divorced, the husband will take the children and the woman will be left with nothing.

These quotes suggest that domestic violence is indeed an issue in the community. Bhutanese families are reluctant to interfere in other families' affairs, unless the situation gets out of control; and women who are personally affected seem to feel hesitant to leave, out of fear of the consequences and/or a lack of feasible alternatives.

So far only two cases are known where domestic violence led to a family breakup, which indicates – assuming that domestic violence is not uncommon – that certain mechanisms might prevent the women from leaving. Lhotshampa women might for example be unfamiliar

with the Australian service providers, or be hesitant to leave the husband's elderly parents behind without care:

> [Refugee] Women are less likely to report than in the wider community, and that's for a number of things, whether it's interpreter services, access to support, lack of support networks, don't feel able to confide in others, feel isolated, lack of awareness of the law… (MRC employee)

> If it's an extended family situation, the older people are left, lost, wondering what's happened because "that's the woman who's been looking after us, she's gone, what do we do now?" You know? So they're left floundering, therefore they would feel quite against her because of that situation, it's not explained to them, because her husband is not gonna explain it, because they're feeling however they're feeling, you know, cross, angry, whatever, in that situation. (MRC refugee worker)

Another suggestion by a refugee worker was that domestic violence was widespread among the traditional patriarchal Lhotshampa society, indicating that men might not consider their behaviour as violent, but as the right way to discipline their wives. The women tolerate it because they think it is normal. However, I have not been able to confirm this theory.

Discussion

It is difficult to determine the extent of domestic violence in the Lhotshampa community, however, as suggested above, the situation has potentially worsened since the Lhotshampa resettled in Tasmania. While the reasons behind this phenomenon are not clear, there is a range of potential causes, some of which were suggested by the Australian refugee workers I interviewed: first, the increase of women in employment may challenge traditional role patterns among husbands and wives; husbands are no longer the sole providers and thus may experience a loss of status and power in the family. At the same time, women who do well in their education or their jobs feel more confident and less dependent on their husbands, which may result in less obedience and a questioning of traditional behaviours. Second, traditional ways of family organisation may be questioned as the Lhotshampa learn about the ways that Australian families strive to live, resulting in conflict. Also, the Lhotshampa have a very strong sense of family, and family obligations, which means that a separation from husband and family is potentially met with disapproval and ostracism by the community, no matter what the reasons are for the break-up. The women may also feel guilty for abandoning the elderly parents of the husband, who would end up without sufficient care. As this is a young refugee community, the women are uncertain about how the Australian system works, how to get

help, and whether they can trust the authorities. Traditionally these issues were worked out inside the community, and it is potentially hard to break these patterns.

L. Zannettino (2012), and S. Rees and B. Pease (2007), who conducted studies on domestic violence in refugee families in Australia found similar factors as the ones listed above, indicating that these issues occur across cultures in refugee communities. Both studies found that refugee men, who come from a society where men were traditionally the "breadwinners" often experience a loss of status and power in Australia due to continuous unemployment (Zannettino 2012, 817). This, combined with the fact that their wives become increasingly independent due to having access to education and employment (ibid., 816), can make them feel worthless and depressed and subsequently result in violent behaviour to gain back control or to vent frustration (ibid., 817). Women, on the other hand, have fears about getting the authorities involved: they are concerned that they will get ostracised by their communities if they "betray" their husbands to the police, or that they are forced to separate from their men and end up being poor and isolated (Rees and Pease 2007, 10). Women also often lack knowledge of their rights and have no family or community support nearby, thus they endure the violence rather than reach out (ibid., 8).

Another factor that exacerbates the situation in Tasmania is that the state's main service providers are not yet equipped to appropriately deal with domestic violence in refugee communities. While the extent of domestic violence among refugee groups like the Lhotshampa is not known, the conversations I had with professional refugee workers and Centacare volunteers indicate that it is an area of concern. Thus, refugee workers need to be trained to be aware of a community's cultural sensitivities and should have access to trustworthy interpreters, who are not from the community.

Elderly Bhutanese

Many elderly Bhutanese struggle to adjust to living in Tasmania, especially as most would have preferred to stay in Nepal or wait for a possibility to return to Bhutan. Instead many resettled in Tasmania out of a need to stay close to their children and grandchildren. Senior Bhutanese find it challenging to adapt culturally, as their traditional lifestyle in Bhutan was very different to the Australian way of life: most elderly Bhutanese grew up on farms in remote mountain valleys, tending the fields and selling produce at the local market; most have never attended school. As a result, the senior Bhutanese are almost without exception

completely illiterate. Once in Tasmania, they struggle to become self-sufficient because of their lack of English. Participation in the 510 h of English lessons has shown to be largely unsuccessful, with most elderly struggling to learn and improve; they feel uncomfortable in classroom environments and have much more difficulty retaining information than the younger generation. This leaves some elderly Bhutanese isolated and frustrated:

> But they can live their life with that money [Centrelink support] but still is not a big amount of money, but, you know, they have money but they don't speak English. And everything, you know, you go to supermarket, and everything speak English. You go to hospital, they speak English, you know? There is interpreter but interpreter is not that effective like … so that's why they're very frustrated, you know? So lots of the 40s, 50s year old people, you know, from our community, not all, but few of them are very frustrated. Australia does the language program and back home they still, if they have a problem they can talk in the same language, so they can settle, you know? (Bhutanese man, 24)

Maybe due to these reasons many elderly Bhutanese seem to still be quite attached to Bhutan. Given the opportunity, some would prefer to return, provided they could have their old lifestyle back. Others have come to terms with life in Australia and prefer to stay, nevertheless they miss Bhutan and would like to visit occasionally, to catch up with relatives and see what's changed.

In the majority of cases elderly Bhutanese can rely on their children to take care of them. In return, the seniors look after the grandchildren and help in house and garden, according to their abilities. Some of the older Bhutanese, however, feel uncomfortable not being able to work, but due to their lack of English proficiency they are unable to secure employment, as the following quotes illustrate:

> I cannot understand the language at all. It is the very sad thing. But now I can pass my time, there are many things to pass my time now, the children are growing up, I have a small land, and I can do the farming here, so I can spend my time, I don't have to talk to anyone, that's how I spend my time now. (Bhutanese man, 56)

> What do I do? I cannot speak English. I am 56 years old. I cannot go to work, I cannot do anything. I want to work. I want to do what I have been doing all my life. I want to be active. But all I do is stay at home. I have to keep quiet, because I cannot speak English.(Bhutanese refugee from the US, in Bhutan News Service 2013)

This problem can be further exacerbated in situations where Centrelink puts pressure on the Bhutanese to find work:

> But not having a job and living from Centrelink a bit for long, also some pressure from the Centrelink to find job, that give more pressure to the people, and sometime they have to fulfil the Centrelink requirement like report every fortnight, and that is very, when they don't have job, they don't have ability to work, they don't have English or help in their job environment also, so if they are asked to find, or show the report of number of job in a week or a fortnight, there's big pressure for them. (Bhutanese man, 30)

Sharma-Luital confirmed this in his study on elderly Bhutanese in Australia. He states that some elderly would prefer to work, even in low-paid jobs, in order to earn their own income and not having to rely on Centrelink payments. The Bhutanese seniors in his study explained that receiving benefits "for doing nothing is not part of their culture, and they feel guilty being paid for not working (Sharma-Luital, 3)".

Another issue is that in families where all adults work, the elderly Bhutanese are left alone at home for most of the day, which can cause problems as they become older and more fragile, not only in terms of social isolation, but also from a medical point of view. Some of the older Bhutanese have experienced trauma, and have complex mental and physical health issues that can worsen when they are left alone at home (Sharma-Luital, 4). Additionally, culturally appropriate home care services are not yet available in Tasmania.

> How do we organise care in the home? You know, have a fully deaf, fully blind elderly Bhutanese woman whose family needed to go to school; they're all young, so they all needed to learn English starting from scratch, but grandma couldn't be left behind. Completely blind, completely deaf, she couldn't be left alone at home. And there was a Nepali carer coming in, that was great. But she resigned her job … and they couldn't leave grandma with a non-Nepali carer, how would that work? (MRC refugee worker)

This can result in old Bhutanese staying with their families but without appropriate care. Their children end up feeling guilty leaving the house for work or school, because traditionally it would have been their responsibility to care for their elderly; the elderly on the other hand may feel abandoned and isolated.

Another issue is the lack of social stimulation for many elderly Bhutanese. Service provider employees have repeatedly voiced concerns that Bhutanese elderly are too isolated; several programs for elderly migrants are on offer, for example through the MRC, but some of them are not being accessed, as they are culturally inappropriate for the Bhutanese; other, more multicultural programs had to be avoided due to the racist attitudes of some European

participants. However, the MRC is currently working on a few programs to involve elderly Bhutanese more in the community.

> Because they don't have English, they generally probably don't want to get on the bus and sit down next to another old person and sing 'once the (sic) jolly swagman' or something like that, whereas what they want to do is go as a group around. It's a matter of getting programmes or processes in place that actually allow something that works for the community. (Male refugee worker)

> The MRC had something like the ukulele group, one of the beautiful images of the MRC … I was standing there and I was seeing all these elderly, these Bhutanese coming out of this room and they all had this great big smile on their face and I was just seeing their smile and why is this like, and it was only when I looked down that I saw that every single one of them was hugging a ukulele. (Male refugee worker)

The Bhutanese community is also not yet established enough to develop its own programs for the elderly, so the main responsibility remains with the families.

Most Bhutanese families own a computer, which, along with other digital media devices, seem to be mainly used by the younger generation, who utilise facebook and email to keep in touch with other community members in Australia and overseas. While many of the elderly refugees watch TV on a regular basis, I could not confirm whether they also use the internet to communicate with others, or fill their days; however, due to the older Bhutanese' high degree of illiteracy and lack of English, it seems unlikely that they would be able to access and utilise digital media sufficiently to relieve isolation and boredom.

Death is an important occasion for the Bhutanese and the ageing person is expected to die at home, surrounded by family and with the appropriate Hindu ceremonies. As a doctor pointed out, most old people get sick before they die and are thus likely to be brought to the hospital for their final days; this can cause distress among Lhotshampa families, as they cannot perform the required rites in accordance with their belief.

Discussion

Considering the above, the main concerns regarding elderly Lhotshampa are social isolation and lack of appropriate aged care facilities. As the Lhotshampa are the first group of refugees with a large ageing population in Tasmania, Tasmania's service providers are not yet equipped to respond to these issues. A similar outcome was found in Atwell et al.'s study examining the needs of elderly refugees in 14 recently arrived refugee groups in Victoria. Their article states

that newly arrived refugee communities usually lack the capacity to care for their elders (Atwell, Correa-Velez, and Gifford 2007, 4), so older refugees are looked after by family members at home. This is problematic, as due to changed living conditions most family members are away at work or school during the day, leaving the elderly isolated and with nothing to do; also, as the elderly commonly speak no English and have no access to transport, there is only little opportunity for them to leave the home, which can be detrimental for their mental health (ibid., 8). As indicated above, it is also unlikely that Bhutanese seniors can access the internet proficiently enough to communicate with others without their children's help, ruling out digital media as means to alleviate boredom and isolation. D'Mello's study focusing on the use of communication technology among Bhutanese refugees in the US supports this. Her findings suggest that older participants were less likely to utilise technology to communicate with other Bhutanese (2010, 49, 93), unless they had support from their children (ibid., 85-6). Adding to this, Atwell et al. found that a role reversal happens in many refugee families, where the older refugees lose the respect of the young as they are no longer capable of providing guidance and instead have to rely on their children and grandchildren for help on many occasions. This can result in feelings of worthlessness in the older refugees. Some older people also experience difficulties communicating with their grandchildren who mostly speak English (Atwell, Correa-Velez, and Gifford 2007, 9). According to Atwell et al.'s study, existing aged care services are often under-used, partly because the elderly are not sufficiently informed, and partly because some of the services are culturally inappropriate (ibid., 11). Thus, the issues affecting the Lhotshampa seem to be common among older refugees in Australia. So far hardly any studies have been conducted in this area (ibid., 4-5), however, it seems to be a serious issue affecting many older refugees and their families.

Missing family members

Many Bhutanese families were being separated through the resettlement process, with siblings and parents frequently ending up in different continents like North America or Europe. This was particularly hard for most married women who had to leave their own families behind in order to accompany their spouses to the country of settlement, as traditionally Bhutanese women live with their husband's families after marriage. In the early days of resettlement many Bhutanese did not know whether they would be able to see their extended families again, which caused them great distress. As a matter of fact, only a few

families have so far been able to afford to travel overseas to visit their relatives, due to the cost of international airfares. However, most refugees were able to set up internet connections quickly with the help of volunteers, thus enabling some means of communication with their overseas relatives.

All refugees in this study have reported that their inability to see their relatives in Bhutan, Nepal or other countries of resettlement is very hard to come to terms with. Much effort is put into staying in touch, mostly via phone and internet. Visiting relatives overseas is often difficult due to the cost of flights and in some cases obligatory gift giving: one of the participants of this study spent AUD15,000 when she went to North Nepal to visit her relatives, and she gave 100,000 Rupees (approximately AUD1,300) to people still living in the camps. Returning to Bhutan to visit family members is also almost impossible, as the Bhutanese government charges its ex-citizens the usual tourist fee of AUD200 a day. Additionally, people are not allowed to travel freely, but have to follow common tourist routes. When I asked the Lhotshampa what they miss the most from their life in Bhutan, the answer was usually and exclusively: family members.

> My husband is missing his family, they are in the US, they are in Canada, that is why, sometimes they talk on the phone, they are crying, my husband is crying all the time, "I miss my family", yeah. So family is very important, yeah. (Bhutanese woman, 46)

Some refugees were unable to contact their relatives in Bhutan during their time in the camps, but then managed to contact them from Australia after they hadn't spoken in over 20 years, which gave them great joy.

Other families have successfully navigated the family reunification program by the Australian government and have reunited with family members who were still living in Nepal. They described how difficult it was to fill out the forms correctly and that the whole process was drawn out and costly.

Discussion

The ability to bring missing family members currently living abroad into Australia via the family reunification scheme remains an important option for refugees like the Lhotshampa, who have a strong sense of family and often extensive family networks. Unfortunately, as I discussed earlier, the family reunification program is currently coupled with Australia's

onshore protection program, which means that every time an asylum seeker is granted a protection visa, one less place is available in the family reunification scheme, which can cause delays of sometimes several years in application processing times (Refugee Council of Australia 2015, 2). This leads to unnecessary stress for the sponsoring families and their relatives waiting to migrate to Australia.

Employment

Many Lhotshampa struggle to find employment in Tasmania, for a range of reasons. The main barrier to employment is the almost complete lack of English proficiency of many adult Lhotshampa, who often had no formal education prior to their arrival in Tasmania. Even with the help of 510 h of free English lessons, many struggle significantly to communicate with the Australian population, making it almost impossible to obtain work. Another reason for the high unemployment is the lack of marketable skills of many Lhotshampa, due to growing up in remote villages in Bhutan or in refugee camps in Nepal. In order to address this issue, TasTAFE provides vocational training for migrants; however, it is often difficult for the Bhutanese to become proficient enough in English to participate successfully, especially for those who have never attended school. TasTAFE also runs a program called 'work it out' where humanitarian entrants are sent for two-weekly work placements with local business owners and organisations where they can gain valuable experience of Australian work environments (see more under 'education'). In a few cases the Lhotshampa have been kept on after the initial two weeks, but most work placements do not result in a job. Also, some businesses do not consider work placements as "real" work experience, as the participants do not feel the same pressures as proper employees. Thus, another big hurdle to employment is obtaining that 'first job', where the refugees can gain work experience and references, both essential elements of gaining employment in Australia. However, this is not only a problem for refugees but is also experienced by members of the wider Tasmanian community, in particular young people.

According to a TasTAFE teacher, another issue is that while some Bhutanese learn to speak English quite well, they fail when it comes to writing and numerical skills, thus lacking essential knowledge needed in many workplaces. Some Bhutanese who had been offered traineeships were later fired as their general knowledge or their numerical skills were not up to standard.

> You see, if it was back in my country I'm qualified with everything, I can do everything there, but it is not like here, even if I have to go for cleaning things I have to do some sort of qualification, everything we need a qualification! So when they asked me [TasTAFE] … I said that I'm used doing carpentry, because back in Bhutan when I was in jail I learned a few things to do in the carpenter workshop and I said "I'm interested in this" and from Polytechnic [TasTAFE] I went for two week to work placement in a joinery in North Hobart, which is good, everybody likes me there. And even there I started using some instruments there, here it is all machines, there we used to use hand tools and I loved the work there and the people they loved me there, the way I work and the way I picked all the work quite nicely and even the manager told me "ok, if you want to work here, we are happy to accept you, what would you like to do?" and I said, you see, just coming and helping only to them I think that is not enough for me, so I want to do an apprenticeship … and I've tried that nearly for two months, I use a few people from Polytechnic, then finally they said that "oh we are sorry, because of your age we can't put you in the apprenticeship because we have to pay less and even then they have to teach you, because you are about 40, we're not making you down but you can think for yourself, like a 18-year-old guy and a 40 years, about 40-year-old guy, working in the same place, when the information is given, who will pick up the first?" And then I realise oh yeah, that is true, and even English is not my first language, yeah definitely that 18 years old guy he will pick up the first because he is intelligent more in terms than me, he is young and energetic and even he may be from here. (Bhutanese man, 48)

Another factor that makes it difficult for some Lhotshampa to find work is ongoing mental or physical health issues; for example, one of my interview participants had a sore leg from his time in a refugee camp, which meant that he was unable to stand up. He spent his days on the living room sofa, struggling with not being able to go out and earn money to provide for his family.

Not being able to find work can have a detrimental effect on the wellbeing of the Lhotshampa. As was discussed above, some people feel uncomfortable living off Centrelink benefits, as they want to be able to provide for themselves. At the same time it is almost impossible for them to get a job without qualifications or a minimum level of English. Some refugees reported being put under significant pressure by Centrelink officers to find work even when they were still participating in English training or vocational courses. Some felt in fact so pressured that they interrupted their education in order to get work as quickly as possible. Others struggled to fulfil their reporting obligations every fortnight, as it is hard to apply for a certain amount of jobs per week without the necessary literacy skills.

Another area of concern is the structural discrimination against refugees by employers; several of my informants suggested that this is a common issue in Tasmanian workplaces,

especially when it comes to recruiting new staff. The fact that Tasmania is a small community with restricted employment opportunities where many Tasmanians also struggle to find work further exacerbates the situation. It was suggested that getting a job is as much about who you know as it is about what you can do, making it even harder for the Lhotshampa to find work as most have hardly any connections to the local population.

> I think a lot of other businesses, you know, the invisible racism or fear or whatever it is, is a big barrier. A lot of it is just fear, I think. You know, fear about "I'm not going to be able to talk to that worker, how can I employ them?" and you know "I don't know if these people are good workers or not, I'm afraid, my business is very marginal" … "can I afford to put on?" and the fact that we so easily and casually brand people's behaviour as racist is really damaging. (Australian refugee health worker)

Having said that, some Lhotshampa have been successful in "getting their foot in the door" in Tasmanian workplaces. One case was described to me where a Bhutanese refugee had gained casual employment in aged care. His employer was hesitant about taking Bhutanese staff on as he was unsure how his patients would react; thus the Bhutanese refugee started off by doing the dishes and other menial work. After a while he managed to gain the trust of both his colleagues and the residents of the facility and convinced them of his worth through working hard and maintaining a friendly attitude, no matter what tasks were given to him. In the end he was offered full-time employment. Since then the same institution has started to employ more and more Lhotshampa refugees, often almost without references, as they have gained the reputation of being reliable and hard working.

It seems that other local businesses have also noticed the excellent work ethic of the Bhutanese, and have started employing Bhutanese as well as other refugees more frequently.

> I'm very impressed with the way that some businesses have really embraced, not just the Bhutanese, but definitely the Bhutanese, places like Frogmore winery and Tassal, Cripps Bakery, you know, they're actually, it's obvious, some have actually told me, that these guys are really good workers. So they want to put them on, you know, I think that's great. (Australian refugee health worker)

Thus, despite the above difficulties, some Lhotshampa have been successful in finding work. An estimated 50-60[35] Lhotshampa of the Hobart Bhutanese community are currently employed, constituting approximately 10 percent of the local Bhutanese. Some refugees

[35] Estimate provided by a MRC refugee worker in 2015.

described how they felt a great sense of relief when they got their first jobs; they felt that they could finally become fully settled, especially as their wages now allowed them to save enough money for a deposit on a house, which seemed quite important to many.

English proficiency is also described as a large hurdle in keeping employment, particularly as many Bhutanese seem to find work in the service industry, for example taxi driving, customer service and aged care, where they must communicate a lot with the wider community. Many have had complaints from customers who get impatient with the perceived 'slow speech' and 'strong accents' of the Bhutanese. The Bhutanese on the other hand often find it hard, especially initially, to understand the Australian accent and slang words, but seem to get better as time progresses. The Bhutanese repeatedly expressed how supportive their employers have been in terms of their English language difficulties, showing that workplace discrimination does not occur in every business.

> "We'll employ you. So you can start this time, this time?" "Oh yeah." And after that I'm very, very happy to work and I little bit, little bit we talk each other and even what they are saying on my work at that time, I was very, very scared, what they are saying, maybe I could not understand what to do? All the time I'm very scared … In my mind when I finished the work, the day work, and when I come back "oh, did I do any mistake?" I'm thinking about that, yes, all the time! Then after that little bit, little bit changing and now it's ok. (Female Bhutanese refugee, 46)

One initiative that proved to be beneficial for both employers and employees is the recruitment of Lhotshampa refugees on local farms, to pick or pack fruit, or help with other tasks like pruning trees or fixing fences. On the farms, the Lhotshampa generally organise themselves in small groups with one leader who speaks English proficiently enough to communicate with the farmer, and then tells his fellow workers what to do. The Lhotshampa appreciate working on farms, as they can do the work without having to speak English, and because many of the adult Lhotshampa have experience and skills in this area, due to having grown up in an agricultural environment:

> It's kind of a seasonal job, but some people, some farmers are really good when they find our people really hard-working, and doing the job very well, they hire them for a little bit longer as well, until the job is finished … if anything comes up they phone and ask "from your group bring so and so people, the hard worker, the good worker", so they come, group of four, group of five. (Bhutanese refugee man, 30)

> It's invaluable for us, it's definitely a win-win situation … the [Bhutanese] are great people to work with [and] have a great attitude towards the work that we do. It's good to know that they are going to stay for the long term. It means that we don't have to keep training people, that we build on the skills that they already have. (Jen Doyle, Manager of Jansz-Parish Vineyard, quoted by Foster, Margot (2016) in her article on Bhutanese farm workers in Tasmania)

While the Lhotshampa seem to enjoy working on farms, most of the work that Bhutanese can find, are low-status, low-income positions, commonly in the areas of taxi driving, childcare, disability and aged care, cleaning and housekeeping. Once in those jobs, Bhutanese tend to get a mortgage and have then little possibility of obtaining additional qualifications to better their job prospects. This is difficult for those who feel they have the potential to do a lot more. However, most of the Lhotshampa do not seem too concerned about their lack of upward mobility and appreciate the fact that they could provide a good life for their families and give their children better future opportunities. One also needs to consider that the Bhutanese are still a young community, and that many of those who feel stuck in jobs now might be able to further their education in the years to come, once their families are more established and the immediate financial pressures somewhat relieved.

A few of the Bhutanese who speak English well have managed to find casual interpreting work, however, it is difficult for them to obtain official NAATI qualifications as this requires a high level of English proficiency. Also, some Bhutanese have now enrolled in the University of Tasmania; I personally met two young Lhotshampa, one who had enrolled in a Bachelor of Science, and the other in a Foundation course with the aim to study Nursing later. One interview participant who used to be a community leader explained proudly:

> What happened here, I came in the mid 2010, actually people started living here since 2008, when I came here, no one was in university. I came here and I talk to all the people here that university is not, I talk about to them and everybody was saying that 'oh university is too big, we can't perform at university at all' and I told them 'it's not a big thing.' Cause we did policy back in the university in Nepal, education system is same everywhere. Only difference is here everybody speaks English, they are used to speaking English only in school and not in university. That's the only difference. But I feel, I told everyone, I feel we can do well and I did English course in university for 6 months and that encouraged everyone to start. And now we have some people who have completed their degree from university, some people who are engineers. I feel always at least one person needs to take the risk, they need to start so that others can follow. Now everybody feel that English is not so big. If you do well in college or TAFE then we can start uni because we don't have to have our own bank balance to start uni. (Bhutanese man, 30)

Unfortunately I was not able to confirm enrolment numbers of Bhutanese nationals with the university[36].

However, while some Bhutanese are successful in obtaining additional education and thereby improving their chances in the job market, many others are still unemployed. A service provider employee suggested that a more strategic approach would be needed to systematically coordinate the exchange of employers and Bhutanese refugees. There are job centres in place that connect job seekers and workplaces, but they only cover certain areas and certain professions, so a more community-tailored and targeted approach would be advantageous.

Discussion

The main barriers to employment found in this study are the following: A lack of or no English proficiency, literacy and numeracy skills, a lack of marketable skills and qualifications, ongoing mental or physical health issues, structural discrimination by employers, no local networks and finally, a high unemployment rate in the state. These barriers are also common among other refugee groups in Australia, as stated in Fozda and Hartley's study on refugee services (2013, 9-10). In the USA, the Lhotshampa are faced with similar issues when obtaining employment, according to Loy et al.'s study, who list a lack of English proficiency and literacy skills, health issues, workplace discrimination, and a lack of flexibility in workplace arrangements for Lhotshampa women as the main hurdles. In terms of workplace discrimination, the participants in Loy et al.'s study reported being exploited and abused by their colleagues (Loy, Griffiths, and Gautam 2015, 30), a phenomenon that does not seem to occur in Tasmania. Interestingly, Bhattarai (2014, 31) found in his study on a Bhutanese refugee community in Norway that over 70 percent of refugees of working age were employed, and that many Bhutanese spoke sufficient Norwegian to not struggle in the workplace. However, Bhattarai's data is based on only a single community, so more evidence is needed to see whether the resettlement outcomes between Australia, the USA and Norway do in fact differ that significantly. For many Lhotshampa not having a job is a constant cause

[36] I sent an email to the university asking whether they could provide me with enrolment and graduation statistics for Bhutanese students, but was told after several months that this is an ethical concern that I should discuss with my supervisor. At the time I realised that statistics on Bhutanese students could not be accurate in any case, as most young students would have identified as Nepalese citizens rather than Bhutanese; and there was also no possibility to separate Lhotshampa refugees from other students of Bhutanese origin.

of concern, not only because it means that they cannot afford to buy a house or other commodities, but also because they do not feel comfortable living off benefits, as we have heard before; thus being unemployed can affect the wellbeing of some Lhotshampa, which was also found in studies examining hurdles to integration among Lhotshampa in the USA (D'Mello 2010, 80, Loy, Griffiths, and Gautam 2015, 7, Winslow 2014, 9).

Hugo's study suggests that refugees in Australia are more likely than other migrants to become entrepreneurs and set up their own businesses (Hugo 2011, 42) but this could not be confirmed for the Lhotshampa. As far as I am aware, the Lhotshampa have not established a single business, which might be due to the Lhotshampa still being a young community trying to establish itself, and without the required capital to invest. Another phenomenon that occurs in some Australian refugee communities but could not yet be confirmed for the Lhotshampa is the recruitment of fellow community members, or so-called "clustering", into the same jobs (Colic-Peisker and Tilbury 2006, 206). Although groups of Lhotshampa are employed in both aged care and local farms, the numbers are not significant enough to speak of clustering.

The fact that the Lhotshampa work mostly in the secondary labour market was also found in two separate studies on Bhutanese refugees in the USA (D'Mello 2010, 66, Vang and Trieu 2014, 30). However, low upward mobility seems to not only be a common phenomenon among the Lhotshampa, but also among other refugees in Australia, according to Colic-Peisker and Tilbury's study, which states that most first-generation refugees in Australia are permanently employed in the bottom level of the labour market (Colic-Peisker and Tilbury 2006, 211).

The lack of marketable skills, combined with workplace discrimination and high unemployment rates in Tasmania all contribute to the low upward mobility, however, there also seems to be a tendency among the Lhotshampa to accept whatever work they can get quickly instead of opting for additional education, which appears to be caused by their wish to buy property quickly and their dislike of having to rely on welfare benefits. As such, they could potentially be described as 'consumers', according to Peisker et al.'s categorisation that I discussed earlier in chapter four (Peisker and Tilbury 2003, 70). However, most Lhotshampa seem to want to buy property not because it gives them status within the community,

although that comes as a side-effect, but because it allows them to model their houses according to their needs, and provides them with a sense of security.

The fact that most Lhotshampa did not seem too concerned about their lack of upward mobility has in my opinion to do with the Lhotshampa's expectations about their resettlement on one hand, and with their pre-migration background on the other. Almost the entire adult population of the Lhotshampa grew up on farms, and most of them without formal education. After their dispersal from Bhutan the Lhotshampa had no opportunity of paid employment for up to 20 years and lived in very basic facilities without running water or electricity, and had no money to spend. Arriving in Tasmania the Lhotshampa experienced a significant improvement in their standard living conditions and gained access to free, high quality education. Unlike other refugee communities, where the adults had gone to universities and had worked in highly paid professional or skilled employment, the Lhotshampa did not experience a loss of social status and wealth after arriving in Tasmania, so obtaining even a low-status, low-income position – while not being ideal – is still an improvement of sorts, and it enables the Lhotshampa to save enough money to buy property. This, I believe, explains the Lhotshampa's relative satisfaction with the employment they can secure in Tasmania. Hauck, Lo et al.'s study about Bhutanese refugees in the USA generated similar results. The authors suggest that the Bhutanese had low expectations about their job prospects after resettlement and were therefore not disappointed (Hauck et al. 2014, 344). This indicates that not only the resettlement program of the host countries determines the resettlement experiences of refugees, but that pre-migration lifestyle and the expectations it shapes also need to be considered.

Housing

Several of the Australian interview participants suggested that there is an uncommonly high percentage of home ownership among Bhutanese refugees. The refugee workers expressed their astonishment at how quickly and efficiently Bhutanese were accumulating the necessary funds to buy a house, often within a few years after arrival, and usually much faster than other refugee communities[37].

[37] This above statement is supported by the fact that the same phenomenon seems to occur in other Bhutanese communities in Australia: the Association of Bhutanese in Australia (ABA), Sydney, claims that over 30% of Bhutanese in Sydney bought a house in the first five years after arrival. Source: URL:

While the refugees were commonly satisfied with the rentals they were able to secure, everyone I talked to also expressed the wish to have their own house. They described how having their own house helped them feel fully settled here, as it gave them a feeling of belonging and being safe. This might be partly due to the Lhotshampa not being used to dealing with the formalities around renting houses, and the knowledge that lease agreements can be terminated after a short time, as the following statement suggests:

> Before buying a house I had to live in a rental property and renting is one of the most difficult parts of our life … because we people came from the background of never living in a rental property … we did not have these type of formalities like a lease agreement, paperwork, bond and all these types of systems and once we rented back in Bhutan we never had to leave that property without very big reason. We can live there for ages. But here, after completing the lease for one year, the landlord may tell you to go. (Marcus 2015)

Others said that it was important to them to have their own space in order to be able to model it according to their needs, to set up a space for religious and family gatherings and to grow vegetables and fruit trees. Having a mortgage is seen as a great incentive to save more money and increase one's financial capital, as spare money is spent on paying back the debt rather than on other less important things.

One of the community leaders stated that part of the reason why the community is so hard-working is to save for deposits, leaving those that cannot find employment even more frustrated.

> Everybody, all the Bhutanese have this thought, but some people they don't have job, so they can't buy and some of them who have a job, they save and then after some years they will start thinking of buying a house. (Bhutanese man, 30)

The prospect of buying a house also seems to be one of the main reasons for women to go to work; some Bhutanese families actively facilitated a change in traditional roles, in order to save for a deposit or pay a mortgage back quickly. In the family of my main informants a mortgage over AUD300,000 was paid back within six years, due to both male and female

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http://www.abasydney.org/7th_Annual_Day.html, accessed 28/01/2016. Similar numbers occur in Adelaide: 169 families (overall population of Bhutanese in Adelaide: 2000) had purchased their own home through the statutory corporation lender Homestart by 2015. Source: URL: http://www.abc.net.au/news/2015-06-16/number-of-bhutanese-refugees-buying-homes-continues-to-grow/6547318, accessed 28/01/2016.

family members working and contributing to paying it off as quickly as possible. After the first mortgage had been paid off, another house was purchased.

> So even if there used to be traditional thinking, now they're changing their mind. In order to make their own property, both have to work, otherwise they don't have anything to sell here or any property or any asset to earn money to buy the house. So both man and wife need to work, buy the house and buy the good car and all those things. (Bhutanese man, 30)

Some Bhutanese complained about the suburbs in which they lived, and the number of socially dysfunctional families there[38]; some mothers expressed their concern about sending their children to public schools in those areas, because of the high amount of "rough" children attending there. However, rents are more affordable, relevant services are nearby, and other Lhotshampa live in the neighbourhood, so most people did either not consider it worthwhile or felt unable to move to other suburbs.

Discussion

There seem to be sufficient rental properties and affordable real estate available for refugees in Tasmania, even for large families. Fozdar and Hartley suggest that many newly arrived refugees struggle to find suitable rental properties in Australia, due to reasons like insufficient knowledge of procedures, discrimination or an inflated real estate market (Fozdar and Hartley 2013, 16). However, this could not be confirmed for the Lhotshampa in Tasmania. The reasons for this are most likely the fact that rental prices are not as high as in other major cities in Australia, and that the Lhotshampa receive a lot of help from the local Migrant Resource Centre and volunteers.

It was interesting to find out that the Lhotshampa's wish to buy real estate was strong enough to prompt Lhotshampa women to actively pursue employment in order to help save money for a deposit, thereby changing traditional role patterns of Lhotshampa families. This phenomenon is further discussed in the next part on acculturative changes.

Social inclusion

The degree of social interactions with the wider Australian community seems to be largely dependent on both length of residence and the size of the community. The Bhutanese who were resettled in Tasmania in the initial years of 2008-2010 described repeatedly how lonely

[38] This refers to Glenorchy and Clarendon Vale, suburbs of Hobart.

and excluded they felt in the beginning. Traditionally, the Bhutanese had always lived in tight-knit communities, where neighbours were treated like family members, and people spent a lot of time each day socialising; after coming to Tasmania many of the early refugees experienced sadness and frustration when they realised that close relationships with neighbours are rather uncommon, and that most people are too busy to visit frequently.

> Really confusing, like here, the neighbours just say hello and hi, we don't see them often, but in, like in camp, we can visit them at any time, we are not that busy like here, and we can see our neighbours at any times. So here it's not like that, that was very strange for me when I come here and I found it hard to make a friend, because maybe the language or maybe the life is tough, it changes. (Bhutanese woman, 29)

Many of the early Bhutanese were not mobile during their initial months, as they had no drivers licence and didn't yet feel comfortable using local transport. Thus their immediate families were often the only kind of company available, apart from the Australian volunteers who were working with them. Maybe due to these circumstances, some of the early Bhutanese built strong friendships with their volunteers, and also seemed to make more connections with locals. The volunteers I met during my time in the field contributed much time and effort into helping the Lhotshampa, and many keep in touch long after the official period of support (6-12 months) has come to an end. The Bhutanese often continue asking their volunteers for advice, for example with filling out documents or finding trustworthy mechanics; in return the volunteers get invited to Bhutanese events like picnics, weddings or traditional ceremonies, or sometimes just for a cup of Chai tea at home.

> She told me "I can't help you to buy a house, I can't help you to buy a car, but at least for a job, for a job for all your family I'll help. I'm not guarantee you that I give you a job, but I'll help you to find job." And she did. She helped a lot because before I start with the age care, I used to do a lot of gardening, I used to find out a lot of gardening things, so I used to go and I don't have a car at that time, so she used to pick me, take me there, and then she will be back somewhere else. So I asked the owner up to what time he wants me to work and some of them they will say, "oh you can work until 4 o'clock". "Ok", then she will be back at 4 o'clock to pick me up. (Bhutanese man, 48)

In contrast to this are the Bhutanese who arrived after 2010 and were received by an established Bhutanese community, or sometimes even their own families. These "later" Bhutanese didn't have to face many of the initial difficulties of their predecessors, they could get support with documents, housing, transport and so on from other Lhotshampa. However, they also seem to have significantly fewer interactions with the wider community because

they did not have to go through that initial loneliness and thus did not develop a need for social interaction as much as their predecessors. Apparently, many of the later Bhutanese (with the exception of the younger generation) have hardly any interactions with non-Bhutanese[39].

> The most important issue that I found is their dominant ethnic network, and their community oriented culture. One of the advantages of that community, of that culture is they get support and help from each other, for they aren't socialising into the new society. Because they might have felt loneliness otherwise if they are alone, but the main obstacle is they only communicate, they only have the networks with the people of their own community. (Nepali bi-cultural worker)

> I found that most, the majority of Bhutanese refugees did not have a close interaction, close socialising with the Australian people, or the migrants from other ethnicity … they wanted the Australians to invite them for social participation, for example visiting home or in any social activities, they're not being proactive by themselves … for the Bhutanese refugees, they want someone to push them to be proactive. (Nepali bi-cultural worker)

Overall, the frequency of interactions with the Australian community differs greatly from family to family, and from individual to individual. Some Lhotshampa have little or no contact outside their community, while others communicate with Australians frequently. Also, most interactions with Australians seems to happen in the public sphere, for example in the work place or schools, or with Australian refugee workers. Genuine friendships between Lhotshampa and Australians seem rare, at least for the adult Lhotshampa. However, I did not gain the impression that the Lhotshampa were concerned about their lack of interactions with the Australian community. Some people said that they would appreciate more interactions, however, this did not seem to be caused by isolation, but rather by curiosity, or because they saw the advantages of networking. Also, most Lhotshampa seem to have resettled with their extended families, and a lot of socialising happens in the family environment. Thus, the Lhotshampa always have access to people and are socially secure within their families and the community.

Discussion

Isolation seems to be mainly a problem for the first generation of Lhotshampa arrivals, as they had no existing community to fall back on. As the Lhotshampa are a community-oriented

[39] A few refugees told me they had occasional contact with people from the Nepali community, due to speaking the same language, and the Indian Hindu community, to discuss raising funds for a Hindu temple together. However, it does not seem to be a common phenomenon.

people, it was hard for these “early” Bhutanese to have only their own families for company. Volunteers were crucial to alleviate this isolation until the Lhotshampa had made more social connections. However, as soon as the community reached a certain size, many Lhotshampa seemed to be content to interact only with fellow community members. Marshall’s (2015, 4) study found that more than half of all refugees have difficulties in making friends or talking to their neighbours in Australia. However, while other refugee communities may struggle with the lack of interactions with the local population, the Lhotshampa seem to be socially content staying in their own community. A possible explanation for this is that the Lhotshampa have a history of being outsiders, first in remote villages in Bhutan, and then in refugee camps in Nepal; in both situations they did not interact much with the majority population. Another reason is that most Bhutanese refugees resettle with their extended families; as the family is the environment where the most socialising happens - also confirmed by Loy et al. in their study on Bhutanese in the USA (Loy, Griffiths, and Gautam 2015, 18) - the Lhotshampa’s basic social needs are met. Fozdar (2009, 446) also found that the degree of isolation among refugees can depend on the background of the group; where daily socialising with friends and neighbours was common prior to migration, isolation is more likely to occur after arrival in Australia. Berry suggests, in line with Fozdar, that refugee groups differ significantly in the extent to which they want to interact with the host community, ranging from complete inclusion to complete separation (Berry 1992, 77). Cheryl D’Mello’s study of Lhotshampa refugees in the USA describes how the Bhutanese refugees who have regular interactions with the local population experience less acculturative stress than those who have hardly any interactions (D'Mello 2010, 89). I could not find any evidence of this in the Tasmanian Lhotshampa community, possibly because the Tasmanian community was already more established at the time of research due to clustering, meaning that the Lhotshampa had sufficient social networks without having to rely on the help of the local Australian population.

Australia’s resettlement policies support the clustering of refugees where possible, both because it is practical, as refugees are settled near existing infrastructure and services, and because it allows refugees to socialise and support each other more easily (Fozdar and Hartley 2013, 20, Hugo 2011, 49). This approach was also implemented for the Lhotshampa in Tasmania. However, clustering not only provides benefits but can also hinder integration, as it allows refugees to stay in their own community rather than seeking help among the host

population, therefore building fewer social connections to locals, and participating less in the host society. Molly Winslow describes that the Bhutanese in her study gained a sense of security and reassurance by being part of a community, but that it also led to the Lhotshampa interacting less with the host population, and their subsequent isolation from mainstream society (Winslow 2014, 22). While this also occurs in the Tasmanian context, it seems to apply only to the first generation of Lhotshampa, and only to those above a certain age. First generation refugees seem to initially feel very anxious about interacting with the host population and often choose to remain safely in the community; however, as the years go by, and the Lhotshampa become more used to living in Tasmania, they seem to participate more in society, maybe with exception of the senior Lhotshampa. It also helps that the children and young people are integrated in schools, thus forming new friendships with the Tasmanian population. Considering this, I believe that clustering works well for the Lhotshampa in Tasmania. The Lhotshampa do not seem to suffer from acculturative stress, even if they socialise mostly with other community members and it seems that there is only a small risk that they become a separated community in Berry's sense. While some of the elderly may not choose to participate for a variety of reasons, there was no evidence in the collected data pointing towards the Lhotshampa's permanent separation from Tasmanian society.

Perception of the Tasmanian population

The Tasmanian people are without exception described as supportive and trustworthy, even towards those without English. Some Lhotshampa reported how their Bhutanese origin frequently raises interest among the Tasmanians, who are curious to learn more.

> And when they speak they are so excited to learn about Bhutan, where it is and that sort of things and they always say "so beautiful people" so it makes me realise, what do you call, positive, positive feelings, so I'm quite happy. (Bhutanese woman, 29)

> The most important thing that I like is the people here. The way they behave to us. Although I cannot understand the language, but if I, they understand my English, and if I'm in trouble, they will take and help me. They can help me to solve my problem. So their behaviour is the most important thing. (Bhutanese man, 56)

No negative incidents have been reported in terms of people witnessing the Bhutanese openly practising their religion[40]; people seem to respect the Bhutanese' cultural diversity.

> I can practise my religion freely so far, for example I have sat with some Australians, and when my eldest son introduced me to the Australians, "my father is strict Hindu", they don't oblige me to eat their food. So I am free to eat my own food, so I think I can practise my religion, I don't have to embrace their food and their religion. (Bhutanese man, 56)

Most refugees have reported that they feel they are accepted, even though they are culturally different, and can live in peaceful coexistence with the wider community. When asked how Bhutanese people differ from Anglo-Australians, the Lhotshampa usually mentioned the differences in religion, language and food preferences, but did not refer to other cultural customs. With the exception of some elderly Bhutanese, I did not have the impression that the cultural distance between Bhutanese and Australians was perceived as a large obstacle in terms of getting settled.

> Not so much different, the main thing is the language, apart from that the Australians do their own thing, they have their own religion, they eat their own food, and now we Bhutanese people do our own thing, they don't disturb us, they don't harm us or anything, so we are just different, but we can do our own thing. (Bhutanese woman, 54)

Lhotshampa in employment have repeatedly told me about receiving great support, encouragement and understanding from their respective managers/supervisors and colleagues.

I asked the volunteers and professionals who had been working with the Bhutanese about their general impression of the community, and without exception the Bhutanese were described as smart, highly motivated, very adaptable, friendly and hospitable people. The professionals had the impression that the Bhutanese were more successful both in gaining employment and in buying houses than any of the *other* refugee communities.

> If you were to pick one community that has settled really well, it would be the Bhutanese. (Teacher, TasTAFE)

[40] In the absence of a Hindu temple, Bhutanese weddings and other celebrations are often held outside in yards, parks etc., to be able to accommodate more people.

When asked about racist incidents, most Bhutanese acknowledged that they happen occasionally; however, they were almost always described as somewhat minor: teenagers verbally abusing or mocking Bhutanese, people getting angry with the refugees for not speaking English or looking at them in a funny way, and in one case a Lhotshampa had an egg thrown at him. No physical abuse was reported by the Lhotshampa, in fact, most refugees claimed to never have personally experienced racial discrimination at all. Some of the Lhotshampa thought that verbal abuse was connected to their inability to speak English:

> But the people without English are finding it a little bit tough here, because they are not bad people, they can't speak English, that's why they can't say what they need to say. Or when someone says something in English, sometimes they don't understand. Or they understand, but they don't know how to reply, that's why they don't speak, actually I found that if someone doesn't speak he's not a good person, that's what many people have on their mind. They want someone to talk. That's why people without English, or having very little English, they are facing these kinds of issues … not old Australians, but young people … if someone can't reply to what they said, they are rude to them. And most of the time, like myself, I come here and, after I came here one week I start learning my driving and it helped me a lot to protect me from these kinds of things. When I'm driving no one is able to harass me. (Bhutanese man, 30)

However, the low degree of reported racism towards the Lhotshampa seems somewhat unusual, considering that many cases of physical violence or strong verbal abuse seem to occur in the other Asian communities of Tasmania[41]:

> I mean these things come out sometimes, there was a couple of years ago …some of the Burmese were telling me … how these guys were stopping them in the street with their shoe laces undone and telling them "do my shoelaces up", you know, just really horrible stuff. Really nasty stuff. And we've had people being beaten up … I was in hospital seven hours overnight, over the night, and we were waiting, you know, in the emergency, and while I was there, another ex-student, Burmese boy, was brought in, and with two young cops, and he was barefoot and it was cold that night and he was barefoot, and it turned out he'd been walking along with the bicycle in the suburbs somewhere and two guys came along and bashed him and took his shoes, and, you know, and the police, he called the police, and the police came and brought him to emergency. I mean that's, we know there's a lot of that stuff happening. (ESL teacher, TasTAFE)

A teacher I spoke to thought her Bhutanese students had to cope with a lot of abuse:

[41] This was reported to me by ESL teachers and volunteers who had had previous experience working with the Vietnamese, Hmong and Karen refugee communities in Tasmania, and who had witnessed numerous cases of abuse, which was sometimes even being directed at them for liaising with the refugees.

> A lot of our students have suffered from, you know, they get, they cop a lot of racism, I mean I often think about them coming in on the busses from the northern suburbs and … we've had a Bhutanese family on the Eastern Shore, a few years ago, who were being, you know, really, really persecuted by the family next door, you know, their kids fighting … throwing things at them … they were in a public housing Tasmania, they had to be moved. And that's, I mean for a lot of the students, we know that this is happening to them, often they don't like to talk about it, it's so humiliating and they don't like to admit it, you know? (TasTAFE refugee teacher)

Thus I am not sure whether this reported lack of racism is real, or whether the Lhotshampa keep quiet because they do not want to complain or appear ungrateful, or because it is humiliating for them to talk about it. A refugee liaison worker stated that in most meetings with the Bhutanese, racism had not been raised as an issue with him, whereas other groups like the Afghan Hazara reported to be frequently racially abused. However, he also had the feeling that the Bhutanese tended not to talk about racism as much and possibly not even read it as such. In his opinion, a lot of discrimination is connected to the Tasmanian population being unfamiliar with foreign cultures; he thought racial abuse would potentially lessen once the Tasmanian people got more used to having 'foreigners' in their midst.

Discussion

It is hard to determine the extent of racial abuse or discrimination that the Lhotshampa experience. As stated above, the Lhotshampa seem to be reluctant to talk about this issue, however, the experiences of the professionals working with refugees indicate that it occurs frequently. Existing literature supports this theory. For example, Dunn's survey on racist attitudes in Australia found that 44.3 percent of all participants from a LOTE background had experienced verbal racial abuse, and that migrants from an Asian background were the 2nd most targeted group of abusive behaviour (Dunn 2003, 4). A more recent study from the University of Western Sydney states that 69 percent of Hindus had been the victims of abuse in the workplace, and 70 percent in an educational setting, higher numbers than for any other religion. Furthermore, the study found that South Asians were among the primary targets of discrimination, with 70 percent having experienced racial abuse in the streets or on public transport (Blair et al. 2017, 12). These numbers reveal the extent of racial discrimination against certain cultural or religious communities in Australia, thereby supporting the statements of the refugee workers who thought that racism is a serious issue for the Lhotshampa.

Health

After arrival, all refugees receive a comprehensive initial health assessment, the required vaccinations plus ongoing treatment in one of the two refugee health clinics (north and south) in Tasmania. After this initial period, refugees are then transferred to local GPs (Primary Health Primary Health Tasmania 2017). Many Lhotshampa have expressed their appreciation of the excellent medical services in Tasmania.

The main concern in this area is communication between doctors, staff and patients from a refugee background. As most refugees speak insufficient English, the hospitals commonly use interpreters from TIS (Translating and Interpreting Service, which is subsidised by the government and offers doctors and private practices in Australia free access to its services) to interpret during consultations. However, TIS does not seem to employ many Nepali-speaking interpreters, thus face-to-face interpretation in the hospital is often not available, and doctors must rely on phone interpreters instead; this is difficult in consultations, as patients may have to rely on gestures to point out parts of their body, which is impossible over the phone. Also, according to some Bhutanese, some interpreters seem not to be skilled or knowledgeable enough, and seem to have given wrong instructions to patients.

In terms of private practices, several GPs seem to refuse to use interpreters altogether, which, according to a GP specialised in treating refugees, is mostly due to a lack of education on the part of the GPs. Many GPs don't seem to know about the benefits and ease of working with interpreters, and that it is free of charge.

> A lot of them feel like "Yep, it's gonna take more time, it's gonna be really tricky, I don't even know how to get one [interpreter], how do I find out … I might have to pay …" (Refugee GP)

Thus several cases of misunderstanding diagnoses and/or medication have been experienced by refugees:

> It's dangerous! We have some cases here, there was a newly born child here, she was not well, so she was taken to Royal Hobart Hospital, parent took them and doctor keep the telephone interpreter and the phone interpreter says "give half a tablet three times a day" and the parent did this thing and the child was very ill again and she can't help and so we went there and we saw all the medications and we feel that there's too high dose for a newly born baby and we just take the juice and the medications back. And the doctor says "oh I didn't say it's half a tablet, I said it's one fourth of tablet". (Bhutanese man, 30)

The refugees discussed this issue with the hospital administration but the hospital has not much room to manoeuvre as there are not enough face-to-face interpreters available through TIS. GPs have voiced the same problem; unfortunately, they cannot use other interpreting services — like Amigos, who seem to have more personnel — free of charge.

Another important issue regarding the use of interpreters or bi-cultural workers during consultations is the fact that they often live in the same cultural community as the patient. This makes it hard for the patients to discuss personal issues freely as they cannot be certain that their information will be kept confidential. An employee of the MRC said that on occasion interpreters from mainland Australia had been employed to avoid this issue, but even then confidentiality cannot be fully guaranteed, as the Lhotshampa are a tight-knit community that reaches across the whole of Australia. In terms of confidentiality phone interpreters are naturally much more useful, and availability seems to be good; however, the risk of misinterpretation and the potential consequences, especially in a medical context, needs to be addressed.

Discussion

The majority of the Lhotshampa are satisfied with the overall quality and availability of medical services and facilities. The main area of concern here is the lack of appropriate interpreting services both in the hospital and among private GPs, which can result in miscommunication between doctors and patients with potentially detrimental outcomes. Additionally, the fact that available face-to-face interpreters are often community members is inappropriate and breaches the confidentiality rights of the patient, especially in close-knit communities like the Bhutanese. Fozdar and Hartley's study on refugee services in Australia suggested that hospital staff and GPs are not appropriately trained to take cultural sensitivities into account (Fozdar and Hartley 2013, 18). This could not be confirmed in this study, as the local Migrant Resource Centres regularly conduct cultural training with the main service providers for refugees. A recent report from FECCA (2014/15, 19-21), however, confirmed the lack of available interpreters for certain languages, the lack of specialist medical knowledge among interpreters, and the fact that GPs are reluctant to utilise TIS, especially in rural areas.

Education

After the initial assessment through SPP (Special Preparatory Program), adult refugees are enrolled in AMEP (Adult Migrant English Program) which is run by TasTAFE. AMEP consists of four levels: preliminary level and Certificate I, II, and III. Each refugee is entitled to 510 hours of English lessons, however, those who would like to continue can enrol in a separate TAFE English program which continues for another year. Elderly refugees also have the option of attending free English lessons at the City Mission facilities. Many adult Lhotshampa are illiterate or have never been to school before, so they receive a general introduction into learning methods and classroom procedures in the lower levels; the curriculum in these levels consists of, for refugees, relevant settlement topics such as transport, health, housing etc. Interpreters are occasionally available to help the refugees follow the teacher's instructions, but both teachers and refugees have expressed a need for more regular interpreter support. While some Lhotshampa adapt well and advance quickly through the levels, others, especially elderly Bhutanese, struggle to adjust to the unknown classroom environment (see more below under 'elderly Bhutanese').

After passing Certificate I or II, some students' English has become functional enough that they are encouraged to enrol in a program called 'work it out' for vocational training. This program runs for 200 hours over ten weeks and combines classroom preparation with work experience and follow-up sessions. Following an interview, where their English proficiency and other skill levels are assessed, the refugees are sent to work placements with local businesses, usually in the areas of house-keeping, cleaning or aged care, but also for example in veterinary care or ICT for those with higher levels of English. Occasionally Bhutanese are offered traineeships or jobs after having completed a work placement, but most of the time this program serves more as an orientation. Many Lhotshampa have never been employed before, so 'work it out' provides them with a valuable introduction into Australian workplace environments. A problem for many Bhutanese is that their oral English is quite good, but they lack the necessary writing skills to advance in universities and employment. As mentioned above, several cases have been reported where Bhutanese refugees had been offered traineeships because of their oral fluency only to have them cancelled after a short time because of a lack in writing and mathematical skills.

Children and teenagers are enrolled in public schools within two weeks of their arrival, following an immersion model that places them in different classes according to their age without taking their knowledge into account. Some teachers and community representatives argued that this approach is completely inappropriate, as many children are unable to participate in the lessons because they lack the necessary pre-requisite knowledge and skills. Apparently this issue has repeatedly been raised with the state government, but so far the only changes have been made for older students (18+), who can now enrol in YMEP (Youth Migrant English Program), instead of biding their time in year 11 and 12 without being able to participate. YMEP teaches English to young refugees and migrants between 18 and 24. The only disadvantage of YMEP is that the young students don't get to mingle with young people from the wider Australian community, however, it seems to be more effective in terms of learning English.

One of the main challenges of refugee education is that certain refugee groups have a significant proportion of illiterate people. Among the Bhutanese this affects almost all elderly as well as the people between 35 and 50 who did not attend any lessons in the refugee camps, thus a significant percentage of the community. This group struggles to adapt to the classroom environment and often cannot follow the instructions of the teachers, particularly when no interpreters are present to help them. The situation leaves many of the older Bhutanese frustrated, especially as the lack of English inhibits them in many ways.

> The problem is I could not understand, I could not learn, I could not know, I could not improve. Although I went for eight months, so how I spent the time was I went there, came back home, went there, came back at home, but no improvement. (Bhutanese man, 56)

Another issue is that Lhotshampa refugees are often unable to retain the learned vocabulary as they get no practice, which is due to a number of reasons: First, with increasing numbers of Bhutanese refugees in Tasmania and thus in the classrooms, the Lhotshampa can communicate with their fellow students in Nepali while earlier students had been forced to communicate in English because no other Nepali speakers were around. Second, Bhutanese refugees tend not to go out into the wider community to practise their English, but remain at home and often communicate exclusively with other Bhutanese.

> They don't know the basics of learning, because they've never been to school in their life. And now they are 35, or 40, or 45, they are going to school and they are struggling to learn. But for old mind it is hard to keep the things, now they have to remember what they learn … once they leave the class and come back home they start speaking Nepali, in their own language, and as they don't have a big, strong memory power, they forget the things. And when they go next day in the school, whatever they learn yesterday, they may remember ten to twenty percent, everything gone. So that's making it hard for them to learn. (Bhutanese man, 30)

Third, some refugees have explained that they learn the English vocabulary well enough but that the lessons do not prepare them enough for conversational English. Thus, they are hesitant to go outside and try their English in the street. Others struggle to communicate in the workplace for the same reasons.

> The thing that sometimes I feel, when I learn English, I learn the words that we use in formal English, not in daily communication, and in the job people use, most of the time the people use the words that I have never heard before. So what I always do, I ask my manager, my colleagues in my job what actually this means. If the client says the word I don't know, then I note down the spelling and everything and I walk to my friend and ask him. So that makes other people think I don't know English. (Bhutanese man, 30)

This quote was taken from a person who watched work-related YouTube videos in his spare time to improve his English, which apparently helped him significantly.

Another issue was raised by two refugee teachers, who explained that the AMEP/YMEP programs are designed to follow the CSWE (Certificate in Spoken and Written English) Curriculum, which seems to be largely inappropriate for Bhutanese refugees and refugees in general. One of my informants explained that in order to follow the curriculum, the teachers have to perform a variety of assessments with their students, for example writing a recount. These assessments seem to be far removed from what refugees encounter in their day-to-day lives, so teachers would prefer to be able to tailor their curriculum more to the different refugee groups. The teachers also stated that in recent years the English classes were sometimes largely made up of Lhotshampa, which meant that students asked fellow student for help in Nepali rather than talking to the teachers and non-Bhutanese classmates.

> It was a large group of Bhutanese, they all sat together and they were kind of, it was really, we were doing constantly sort of social engineering to get them to spread out and speak to us but they would all, as soon as they arrived in class, helping each other and even, even cheating in the assessments and we had to, we had to, and it was like "why wouldn't you do that?" You ask someone the answer to a question, of course, it

> was a completely different mindset about the assessments, you know, trying to tell them "well, if you just copy what that person is doing, then we don't know what you're capable of or somehow help you with it", but, you know, they just want to pass the assessment … yeah, that was a bit of a problem. (AMEP teacher)

Despite these issues, the majority of refugees I talked to seemed satisfied with their English lessons, and particularly praised the commitment of the teachers:

> Like once I started going to school in Polytechnic [TAFE] really there were really good teachers at the time and when I started talking to them and even they didn't say that "your English is really bad" but what they were saying "you are good in English, you are doing really good … but still you have to improve in this things", and then I went into the level 3, so there was a teacher, I forget his name … and he is such a good one, even he help us in the pronunciation class like we used to go only three days and he told us if we are really happy to have a pronunciation class then I'll give you my time and you can come on Thursday because I'm on Thursday off so I'll manage here a room so you can come. So I learned pronunciation class for three months. That improves a lot! (Bhutanese man, 48)

> If I could understand their language, then I would be happy here. It could be much easier. But I could not understand their language, the language is completely different, so when I walk on the bus, in the shopping centre, I cannot understand, so how can it be easy? (Bhutanese woman, 44)

Discussion

The initial 510 h of free English lessons in AMEP (Adult Migrant English Program) seem to be effective for many refugees, however, some areas need reviewing: first, there is a lack of interpreters for the lower level classes. Refugees with low levels of literacy struggle to follow basic instructions without the help of an interpreter. Second, high levels of complete illiteracy among the older Lhotshampa, combined with no previous classroom experience results in many of the older Lhotshampa making little or no progress in their lessons. Third, there seems to be a need for both conversational and workplace English lessons, to prepare students better for the outside world. The last two points were also confirmed in Fozdar and Hartley's study (2013, 11), which described how AMEP lacked efficiency for some refugees in Australia. Fourth, many adult Lhotshampa lack the necessary numeracy and literacy skills required in the workplace; while their oral English improves during the lessons, the refugees' literacy and numeracy remain insufficient. Last, as the Lhotshampa community is of a large enough size that it meets its members' needs in terms of social networks and support, some Lhotshampa hardly talk to Australian people, so they forget the English they have learned.

The most significant issue seems to be that children under 18 are placed in public school classes according to their age instead of their skill level, which is inappropriate, as the children often lack the required background to participate. Fozdar and Hartley (2013, 12) confirmed this and stated that even with intensive language training many young refugees struggle to follow the curriculum. The USA follows the same model and also places students into classes according to age instead of skill level, with the same outcome: students cannot follow the lessons and fail repeatedly (Vang and Trieu 2014, 27).

Recent literature suggests that low levels of English proficiency can lead to higher levels of acculturative stress among Bhutanese refugees (Winslow 2014, 7, D'Mello 2010, 69, Loy, Griffiths, and Gautam 2015, 22-3). However, while several of the Lhotshampa who arrived in Tasmania in the first years of resettlement reported feelings of stress because of a lack of communication skills, later arrivals did not seem to struggle as much. This is probably due to the fact that the later arrivals had an existing community to fall back on, and were not forced to communicate with the host population. This indicates that low levels of English proficiency cause acculturative stress mainly where the Lhotshampa do not have a co-cultural community nearby to support them.

Religion

The majority of the Bhutanese community is Hindu, with small Buddhist and Christian minorities. Both Buddhists and Hindus have their own Bhutanese lamas/priests, but Bhutanese Christians utilise the local churches and participate in sermons together with local Tasmanians. The Hindus are divided among four main endogamous castes, each of which contains a range of sub-castes. The four main castes are Brahmin, Chhetris, Vaishya and Sudra, with Brahmin being at the top of the social hierarchy and Sudra at the bottom. Caste stratification is still widely practised, although some adaptations have been made since arrival in Australia. These are discussed below (see cultural change).

The Hindu priests are highly respected in the community and usually among the most educated; they are consulted on many occasions and play an essential role by performing birth, naming and death ceremonies, marriages, *pujas*[42], purifications, blessings of land and

[42] From Sanskrit pūjā: 'worship', or "an act of worship" (English Oxford Living Dictionaries n.d.).

property and more. There are a few Hindu priests in the Hobart community, but none in Launceston so far[43].

As there is no Hindu temple in Tasmania, many refugees have set up a corner in their house to use as prayer room, which acts as a substitute for a real temple and where pictures and statues of Hindu deities are placed. Bhutanese utilise this sacred room often in their daily prayers. Some Lhotshampa also undergo regular fasting (one or two days a week), where they eat only fruit all day while having a free choice of non-alcoholic drinks. Hinduism is known for its multitude of festivals, but the Bhutanese community commonly celebrates just the most important two: Dashain and Diwali[44]. On these occasions a hall or outdoor space is hired and the whole community comes together to celebrate.

Having three groups with diverging religious affiliations does not seem to cause divisions in the community. According to several sources, Buddhists and Christians frequently participate in Hindu celebrations and vice versa. Each group lends support to the others in terms of organising these large events. Nevertheless, the Hindu community often finds it difficult to celebrate in an appropriate way; in Nepal Hindu ceremonies are part of the national culture, thus people are able to take several days off and celebrate. In Tasmania people struggle to find time, as these special days are not recognised by the wider community.

No temple

The biggest challenge for the Lhotshampa in terms of their religious life is not having access to a temple, for the following reasons: first, to have an appropriate place to pray, to worship and place offerings for the deities; second, as a place where the community meets, giving people the opportunity to socialise and exchange news:

> When there is a temple in public places, so everyone from community they go there and we not only talk about the temple thing, we talk about life going, so "what's going on, what do you work?", you know where you were that kind of thing. (Bhutanese man, 24)

[43] A bi-cultural worker from Launceston suggested that the Hobart priests were unable or unwilling to provide services to the lower castes in Launceston, which allegedly triggered a number of conversions to Christianity, but his statement could not otherwise be verified (see below in cultural change).

[44] Dashain is a harvest festival in honour of the Hindu goddess Durga. It is celebrated annually during the period from new moon to full moon in September to October (Chamberlain 2002, 24).
Diwali is the Hindu Festival of Lights, which takes place during November and is celebrated in honour of the goddess Lakshmi (Olson 1999, ix).

Third, because visiting the temple has always been an essential part of the Bhutanese's day-to-day lives, a frequent ritual that especially the older generation misses; and last, as a place to transfer knowledge to the younger generation, a place where parents can teach their children about the different deities, and where children can take part in ceremonies and thus learn about their religious heritage, which is very important to many parents. The lack of a temple is for some refugees the greatest difficulty of all in terms of adjusting to life in Tasmania.

> Yeah, we just practising our culture, our religion, at home, all the time at home, and sometimes I feel really sad because we are Hindu and we need a temple and I feel on that way, that makes me feel sad. I miss it. (Bhutanese man, 50)

> I wish we had one temple here, so every elder people or whoever believe in their religion, they can go and worship, and pray, whatever, all feel very nice. Like, even me, I'm missing temple so much, because I used to take a fasting and go to the temple, and meditate there for a while, and pray, which makes me feel so happy from the inside, so I'm missing that. (Bhutanese woman, 29)

As it is difficult to raise money for a temple, some Bhutanese community leaders enquired if it was possible to receive funding for a community hall, one that is large enough to host the whole community, in order to have a space to celebrate together. According to a refugee liaison worker, the Glenorchy City Council is currently considering funding a multicultural community hall or building that would be accessible to all ethnic groups to use for their own purposes.

Apart from the lack of a temple or community hall, most Bhutanese feel that they can practise their religion freely in Tasmania. Most are not concerned about losing this important element of their culture, as they can perform their rituals inside their homes and thus fit them into their daily lifestyle. Only some Bhutanese have voiced their concerns that not having a temple will have negative consequences for the community's religious traditions; they argue that religious ceremonies and rituals need to be celebrated or performed in the community to create the right religious 'sphere'; without experiencing this 'sphere', they fear, their children will not be able to experience Hinduism fully and thus potentially lose interest in upholding their religious traditions.

Caste related struggles

The Bhutanese community seems to be divided in terms of how strictly its members should adhere to the Hindu caste system and its rules: elderly Bhutanese appear to choose a more traditional stance than the younger generations, for example they do not let people from the lowest caste enter the house or share their food[45]. Interestingly this exclusion does not apply to Anglo-Australians, no matter what their socio-economic background[46]. Several TasTAFE teachers and volunteer workers suggested that some families do not seem to receive any support from the other families in the community, due to their low caste. However, incidents between members of different castes seem to be usually minor and non-violent, for example children not wanting to sit next to other children in school because of their different caste backgrounds or other comparable situations.

Caste struggle also comes into play in the way the community organises its leadership and raises funds, for example for a temple: as a community everyone is expected to contribute, but people from lower castes argue that members of the higher castes should pay more because they earn more; and the Hobart community has failed repeatedly over the last year[47] to elect a new leadership committee as certain members feel they should be entitled to an office because of their status, which makes democratic decisions tricky. The absence of leadership in the Hobart community[48] is an ongoing concern for service providers as it makes communication with the community difficult; also, without leadership the community cannot run a functioning Bhutanese association and has thus no access to certain community funds provided by the government. Thus caste struggles hinder the Hobart community from utilising full support.

[45] This is related to notions of purity in the Hinduistic belief system of Nepal. The higher the caste, the purer a person is considered to be. People from lower castes will 'pollute' what they touch and should therefore not approach certain areas or people. For example, depending on where one stands in the hierarchy determines how far one is allowed into the house of Brahmins. While Dalits, the lowest caste, are not allowed inside the house, Chhetris may enter but cannot approach the hearth (Nightingale 2011, 157).

[46] Nightingale made a similar observation during her research in Nepal. She was either seen as 'untouchable', as high-caste, or outside caste (ibid., 156).

[47] Status in 2015

[48] Refugee workers have suggested that the Launceston community is currently more united than the Hobart community. It has a functioning leadership that successfully collaborates with the northern service providers and utilizes funding and services for community members.

Some Bhutanese resent this 'hierarchical thinking' as it leads to divisions in an already small community where people have to be able to rely on each other.

> … in everybody's house they are not supposed to come in and they have to stay outside which is pity when I feel now, because they are human beings, so why you do not allow them to come in? And even if we give them a drink then when they're finished drinking they will ask for water and then they will wash the cups by themselves and they will just leave there. They're not supposed to take in … so many things are related with that. That is why in my community there is still the old people, they appreciate that. They think that "oh, ok, this is untouchable people, they shouldn't come in my house, they shouldn't come inside here", and that is a little bit religious thing, they are thinking in that way, but when we are thinking in a broader way now there is nothing to do with that because we are all human beings.[49] (Bhutanese man, 48)

Caste endogamy is also still very much alive in terms of marriage. A number of people have acknowledged that they would prefer it if their children married within their own caste, even though they believe that the caste system is a relic of the past; other people insist strongly on following the old rules, and their children are strictly not allowed to marry outside their family's caste.

When one of the women in the community asked for her parents' permission to marry a man from the caste below hers, the parents would not allow it. When the young couple ran away and got married anyway, her parents cut off all contact to their daughter. They did not talk to her again until several years later when her first child was born, and the relationship remains strained until today.

Parents would have traditionally interfered and possibly physically punished their children for getting involved with lower caste community members, but they seem reluctant to do so now; firstly, because the Australian law does not allow physical punishment, and secondly, because in Tasmania Lhotshampa parents often depend on their children in many ways and cannot risk losing their help. However, a discussion with one of the community leaders revealed that he would rather let his children get married to Anglo-Australians than to lower caste people; according to him most upper caste members shared his opinion.

Most Bhutanese appeared open-minded in terms of the religious affiliation of their offspring. Most said that it would be good for their children to learn also about religions other than

[49] Caste boundaries are similarly renegotiated in Nepal; I discuss this in more detail further below in this chapter.

Hinduism, in order to make up their own mind as adults. Nevertheless, all Lhotshampa, when asked what they preferred, stated that they wished for their children to remain Hindu.

Discussion

For all the Hindus in the Lhotshampa community the lack of a temple was the main concern about their resettlement in Tasmania. As was mentioned above, a temple can serve as a refuge, a place that feels familiar in a culturally foreign world, and it provides the Lhotshampa – especially those who are unemployed or elderly - with a purpose and structures their day. It also allows the transfer of religious practices and knowledge to the next generation by providing a space where children can participate in rituals and celebrations in a sacred space and atmosphere. However, the potentially most important reason is that a temple acts as a place to socialise with other community members and exchange news. As such, it reinforces a sense of community, which has traditionally always played an important part for the Lhotshampa. As the Lhotshampa have currently no access to any communal space, they are not able to meet others easily, and some Lhotshampa are concerned that the community will fall apart. Both Molly Winslow and Benson et al. have found in separate studies that this strong sense of community, especially if it is reinforced through the group's religious affiliation, can have negative effects on the integration of refugees, as it separates refugees from the host society (Winslow 2014, 27-8), or leads to acculturative stress as the differences between the host society and one's own group appear insurmountable (Benson et al. 2012, 547-8). This could not be confirmed in this study, as the Bhutanese did not have the facilities to practise their religion publicly, and could therefore never reinforce a sense of community. Judging by the urgency with which many Lhotshampa expressed their wish for a temple, acculturative stress was caused by not having the option to come together as a community and practise religion.

Perception of life in Tasmania

> Because when you are in refugee camp you don't have anything like, you looking for food, you're looking for medicine, you're looking for education, you're looking for good water, drinking water, and, you know, you don't know what's going on tomorrow. You don't, you know, you have no dream. No perspective, no anything, you know? You have no identity, you don't have life. You're Nepalese, you're Bhutanese, you don't have anything, you don't have identity. So we came here and if they let us in, lots of people, we're in better position now, you know, we have like better education, we have good health system, everything is good down here, we go there as a tourist, you know, we just don't want to go there to live our life, you know? (Bhutanese man, 24)

When I asked the Lhotshampa about their general feelings towards living in Tasmania, most said that they are 'really happy', although they conceded that they missed their relatives and friends from Bhutan. For some happiness was connected to being in a safe place. Others relate happiness to the ability to communicate with people of the wider community, to speak English. Many have described how much they appreciate the friendly attitude of the Tasmanian people, which makes them feel welcome and accepted. Having one's family around also seems to be major contributor to happiness, as it makes it easier to feel at home in Australia. Many, especially those who grew up in Bhutan, also told me that they liked the weather, the mountains and the peaceful atmosphere, which reminds them of their homeland.

> I'm not moving anywhere! This is our home, finally, here! (Bhutanese woman, 46)

> Actually I feel in two ways, one I feel like really happy to be in a safe place and second thing I feel a little bit sad I don't know how to express that but I don't have language to talk to anyone and I have to stay in one place all the time, so a bit of discouragement? I don't know how to talk to people, how to communicate with them, I don't even have a single English, so it pass and pass and I get better with English, so I'm really happy that I'm here. (Bhutanese woman, 42)

> I came here with my family, that's the great thing that I have, so I never missed any of them, they are around me. And I, I feel so happy, so proud to be a part of Australia, because I feel like I got some, somewhere to stay now. Cause I live in a camp for ages and I don't feel like, I never can say that's my house because it's not permanent. But here I am citizen now and I feel like I got home. At least I can say, "here is my house, here is my place". So which is really powerful. (Bhutanese woman, 29)

The Lhotshampa repeatedly expressed their appreciation at being able to practise their religion freely; however, everyone emphasised how much they missed having a Hindu temple where they can perform religious ceremonies and come together as a community.

One Bhutanese family, who has relatives living in the US and Canada, has described how much 'better' everything appears to be in Australia compared to the services provided in the US and Canada. The family members felt they had made the right choice by settling in Tasmania, and thought of themselves as 'the lucky ones' compared to their relatives abroad.

Discussion

Both Hugo and Marshall's studies found that at least 80 percent of humanitarian entrants were satisfied with their resettlement in Australia (Hugo 2011, 54, Marshall 2015, 4). This also

applies to the Lhotshampa, who seem mostly content with their new lives in Tasmania. While acknowledging that certain areas need improving, the majority of Lhotshampa emphasised how relieved they were to finally have a place where they can stay permanently and build a home. This is also supported by the fact that so far no secondary migration has occurred, unlike in other refugee communities who arrived in Tasmania earlier. In comparison, numerous people from both the Vietnamese and Hmong communities emigrated to the mainland a few years after their arrival, which Julian et. al ascribe to the fact that the communities were small and could therefore only offer limited support to their members (Julian, Franklin, and Felmingham 1997, 3).

One aspect that makes Tasmania potentially attractive for the Lhotshampa in particular is the amount of vacant land and affordable real estate. Lhotshampa planning to build a house and grow their own vegetables can do so easily in Tasmania, even on a small family income. Another favourable aspect of Tasmania is its remoteness and comparatively rural lifestyle when compared to other hotspots for refugees in Australia, like Melbourne or Sydney. As the Lhotshampa have always lived in a natural environment, first on remote farms in Bhutan, and then in refugee camps in Nepal, the thought of moving to Melbourne or another busy city might not feel too appealing, even if there are more employment opportunities and a larger religious community. In Tasmania the Lhotshampa can live in a relatively natural environment while still having access to all relevant services.

Summary: The challenges of resettlement and how they relate to integration

We have seen that the resettlement experiences of the Lhotshampa are influenced by a variety of factors: on one hand Australia's setup as resettlement provider and the Australian population's attitude towards refugees, but also the Lhotshampa's pre-migration lifestyle and socio-cultural composition, the length of time spent in refugee camps, and what expectations and plans the Lhotshampa have for their lives in the new country. While some challenges, such as domestic violence or unemployment seem to occur across different refugee groups, others, such as caste struggles, apply only to the Lhotshampa or other Hindu refugee communities. While some refugee groups feel isolated because their English proficiency does not allow them to interact much with the Australian population, or depressed because of a loss of status in their employment, other refugee groups like the Lhotshampa experience their resettlement differently. For the Bhutanese the main priority is to obtain a temple,

employment is sought mainly so that bills can be paid and properties be bought, and social interactions with the Australian population are appreciated, but not crucial for the wellbeing of the Lhotshampa. This shows that different refugees groups experience resettlement in various ways, with each group facing their own unique challenges.

However, not only are there diverging experiences among different refugee groups, each refugee group also consists of various segments that experience their own challenges in the resettlement process. Young Lhotshampa usually speak fluent English, are enrolled in schools or job training, and are fully participating in Australian society. Elderly Lhotshampa, on the other hand, are often isolated, hardly interacting with the host population, suffering from mental and physical health issues and are left at home with no occupation.

Finally, governments and refugee communities often have different ideas of what successful resettlement means. Multicultural policies in Australia stipulate that refugees shall be integrated in the society by being provided with all the tools and opportunities required to fully participate in the society. However, the implementation of this approach is often difficult, both in the provision of tools and opportunities for refugees, and the refugees' abilities to utilise these tools. One example is the high unemployment of refugees. Refugees are often put under pressure by Centrelink to find work; however if the local population is already struggling to find employment, it is even harder for refugees like the Lhotshampa who are unskilled and whose English proficiency is low. On the other hand one could say that the refugees are given the tools to improve themselves and become 'job-ready', through initiatives like AMEP and 'work it out'. However, considering that some of the refugees are illiterate in their own language, have no marketable skills, and suffer from mental or physical health issues, it is questionable how job-ready they can realistically become. Furthermore, while getting work and learning English fluently has priority for some of the Lhotshampa, others strive for different things, especially if they are not the breadwinners in the family. For example, many of the Lhotshampa seem to spend their time trying to recreate aspects of their previous lifestyle, for example buying a house that they can model according to their preferences, growing their own vegetables so they can cook and eat traditional meals, and spending time in prayer or performing religious customs.

What does this mean in terms of successful integration and integrative policies?

Indicators to measure successful integration need to be developed in collaboration with refugee groups

As each group comes with its own set of challenges, expectations and requirements, indicators of successful resettlement will differ from group to group. I emphasise here how important it is to have realistic expectations of refugees, especially of the first generation. A good proportion of the adult Lhotshampa, for example, is unlikely to ever fully participate in Australian society, due to their pre-migration history. On the other hand, the data indicates that most of the young Lhotshampa will develop all the tools they need to become fully functional in Australia; they receive a comprehensive education, speak English fluently and are not hindered by the Bhutanese community to participate in mainstream society. While the elderly should be given the tools to learn English, find work and socialise with Australians, it is unrealistic to expect that many will be able to utilise them. This does not mean that integration has failed, nor that elderly refugees will be permanently discontent just because they appear disadvantaged from our point of view. Different people value different things, and I think any integrative approach will not only allow refugees to maintain their cultural traditions, but also allow them to choose their own goals, which they can achieve in their own time. Successful integration should therefore not only be measured in statistics such as the census provides, for example average employment rates, median weekly income, or levels of English proficiency, but also consider how refugees experience resettlement, and what their resettlement goals are.

Resettlement policies need to be adaptable and need to take a wide variety of factors into account

The Lhotshampa's resettlement experiences and practices are to a large degree determined by their cultural makeup and pre-migration history. The wish to buy property is in some families motivation enough for women to go to work, the community is content to not interact much with the Australian population without feeling isolated, and a job initiative that sends Bhutanese refugees to local farms works well due to the Lhotshampa's farming background. Resettlement policies are likely to be most successful when they take the culture, background and the wishes of the community into account, provided that this does not create unreasonable cost or work for the host society. Policymakers and service providers should therefore conduct research into each refugee community, and consult community members

for the best resettlement approach. The knowledge gained can be utilised in creating job opportunities, and model education programs; it will provide guidance on the best location for resettlement (rural or urban), on required services, or places of worship and many other areas.

The concept of integration today

Considering the above conclusions, I suggest the following outline for the concept of integration in a refugee context[50]:

If a host country chooses integration as acculturative policy, its responsibility is for providing refugees with all the tools and resources they need to learn how to become full members of the new society. This includes full rights and access to all services, safe housing and welfare that covers basic living expenses, programs that teach refugees the skills they need to become self-sufficient in the host country, free health care and counselling services, and a certain amount of funding that enables refugees to live their cultural traditions. It is the refugees' responsibility to utilise these tools and services according to their abilities. As each refugee group, and individuals from each refugee group, will adjust differently, measures of successful integration need to be developed in consultation with the refugee groups and in consideration of individual circumstances. While refugee groups are free to retain their cultural traditions, individual members should not be hindered from choosing their own degree of participation or cultural adjustment to the host society, both in terms of the expectations of the host population and their own community.

Part 2 - Acculturative negotiations in the Lhotshampa community

In the preceding part I detailed what challenges the Lhotshampa experience during their resettlement. In this second part, I describe the acculturative changes that occur in the Lhotshampa community due to resettlement; I detail what cultural elements or customs the Lhotshampa aim to preserve, and what factors seem to inhibit cultural adjustment. Following this, I explore how these cultural changes are negotiated in the community. This shows how the Lhotshampa actively engage in and shape their cultural adjustment in order to respond to the demands of living in the Tasmanian society, while at the same time aiming to preserve

[50] Integration of refugees needs to be articulated separately from integration of other migrants, for example economic migrants, as the responsibilities of the host country and the migrant groups will differ in each scenario.

their cultural traditions. I listed all those phenomena that I felt affected a large part of the community, however, the extent and range of changes naturally differs from individual to individual.

> Not all the people, now those who have a little bit of English, and those who think "hmm, now we are in a different country, even we have to be changed a little bit, the culture of things even, with the society, we have to mix up, it is a multicultural country, we have to mix up with everybody else", when they were thinking like that, yes, most of the families they will settle quite nicely. But it's still the old people, even they can know that we are in Australia, we have to be flexible here … but they are thinking "oh even if we do so, the youngsters they will definitely stop and forget about our culture", which is good when they want to appreciate that. In that context what I would like to say is that some of the families is still struggling, and some of them are quite relaxed, and yes, in the easy way, yeah. (Bhutanese man, 48)

Visible changes

Clothing

Probably the most visible sign of cultural change in the Lhotshampa community can be observed in the way people dress. Most young Bhutanese in Tasmania wear western-style clothing; some girls have broken completely with old customs: they wear singlets and short skirts, show their midriffs and dye their hair. Other girls dress more modestly, but also western-style. Some boys express their individuality with piercings and modern hair-styles, others dress plainly. Most adult men also wear western clothes, while adult women are still frequently seen in traditional Nepalese saris, especially in summer. Interestingly, hardly anyone wears the traditional Bhutanese national dress (*bakhu* and *kira*), not even the elderly, possibly because they were forced to use it during the years before the political unrest in Bhutan. On special occasions, for example weddings, almost everyone dresses in traditional Nepalese clothes.

Language

As previously detailed, the Lhotshampa differ greatly in their abilities to speak English when they arrive in Tasmania. While the elderly often speak no English at all, young Lhotshampa have usually learned basic English in the refugee camps. Their proficiency increases quickly through immersion in the local schools. Adult Lhotshampa vary in their language uptake; while some learn quickly by attending English lessons and making an effort to communicate with the Tasmanian population, others are content to stay in the community, thus making little progress. The biggest change can be observed among the children born in Tasmania, of

whom several do not speak Nepalese at all, however, they still understand what is said to them by their parents.

> … the young generation, they doesn't like our language. Now, still my grandson, when we speak in Nepali, he doesn't like to answer in Nepali, but he understood what we are saying, yeah, he wants to speak with English, and nowadays he's saying "Talk in English, talk in English! What are you saying blab a blab a blab?" But anyway, maybe when he's grown up maybe we speak our own language, maybe he will learn. (Bhutanese grandmother, 46)

Some parents actively encourage their children to speak English at home, as they regard the ability to speak English fluently as highly prestigious; they are aware that good English proficiency is crucial to achieve a good standing in the community, to go to university and get a good job. Other families, apparently especially the higher caste families, are more worried about losing this important element of their culture and insist on speaking only Nepali with their children at home.

Food

Many of the younger Bhutanese seem to frequently go to McDonalds or other fast food chains, and they also drink soft drinks like Coca Cola at home. Some rely on Australian take-away shops out of convenience during work hours. However, older Bhutanese do not seem to incorporate Tasmanian food or fast food at all; every meal is cooked from scratch with traditional ingredients, and if the required vegetables cannot be found in the supermarket they are grown in the backyard. The Bhutanese appear proud of the large variety of tasty dishes they can prepare, and many look with some disdain upon what they perceive to be the Australian diet: sausage rolls, barbeques and pies.

> I work almost every day and most of the time I eat fast food. McDonald this and that, pizza, you know, you go there and eat it, and at home they cook like our food, rice, curry, you know? And I've been doing the same thing like, I eat most of the time outside, I eat other kinds of food, so I miss that food, you know, my parents, my mum and dad call "come and have food at home, you don't need, don't go outside and eat." … yeah, going outside is not good, you know? Not eating healthy. And if I'm doing that, my child will do that. He forget the Nepalese food, you know? So that kind of thing worried. (Bhutanese man, 24)

Australian celebrations and events

Some families have started taking part in local celebrations and events, for example cricket matches, Australia day, or Christmas, while still celebrating their traditional holy days:

> In November one of our light festival would come, similar to carol and last year when I was putting some lights and decorating the house and he [young grandson] started helping me do these things. So in the evening we started lighting the candle outside and he just said "oh, it is carol, it is Christmas!" And he was so happy and then I said "It is not the Christmas, Christmas is yet to come, this is our festival, this is called Diwali, in Nepali this means light. Today we have to light all the lamps here, so the goddess Laxmi, who is the goddess of wealth, she will come tonight to our house and she will bring a lot of wealth and rich people." So I started talking to him, and he was like "oh, is it, when she will come?" He started asking me like that and later on I keep that because I thought that, oh well, Christmas is coming, so maybe at the time we just celebrate a few things, so we kept the light outside, I didn't take and the lady next door … she has seen that and one days she was "oh, do you celebrate Christmas?" And I said "not really, but when I celebrate my Diwali in November, he [grandson] was saying "oh it is Christmas day" so I thought, it is striking my mind that maybe he loves to because when he saw that everybody nearby, neighbour, that when they have a light, he liked to have a light, so I kept the light." And then she says "Oh last year I bought a Christmas tree in the house … I haven't opened the packet, so if he loves then I'll give to him." And he was with me and he said "oh I love the Christmas tree, I love the Christmas tree" and then she said "oh come on, I give you the tree." And for Christmas it was really nice and I put it over there. (Bhutanese man, 48)

Discussion

As we have seen, many Lhotshampa have adjusted on the outside to life in Tasmania. They wear western-style clothing, celebrate Australian events, and speak English to varying degrees. The above observations indicate that young Lhotshampa incorporate local cultural elements to the greatest extent, while the older generation sticks to traditional language, clothing and food. Some of the adjustments seem to be at least partially born out of a need to fit in, for example the clothing style of the Lhotshampa youth, while others occur out of practicality, like eating fast food at work, or learning English. Having described the more obvious adjustments of the Lhotshampa, the following paragraphs explore acculturative changes in the Lhotshampa's traditions, customs, and community structure.

Changes in family structure and roles

Working women

In a traditional Bhutanese family tasks were divided into two areas, outside and inside: it was a woman's role to stay at home – inside - and care for the extended family including parents, siblings and children, look after guests and keep house and garden in order. Men were responsible for the work outside, like tending the fields or herding goats. The two areas hardly overlapped. After arrival in Tasmania, many women started to pursue work and education,

leaving a gap in the household, so the Lhotshampa families had to reorganise their traditional task distribution in order to take care of the women's previous duties; in some families husbands and sons began to clean, cook and look after the children when required, while in other families women do both and struggle with the double burden. In many families the elderly grandparents help out as much as they can, especially with the care of young children, cooking and light housework.

> It's changing, yes, now is equal, equal, yeah … is good, is good. When we are tired, when we are at home, whoever comes early at home they make the food, they go to the kitchen … if my husband come home early, he will go to the kitchen and make food for everybody, yes, my son, even he's here, he will do it, yeah. They don't think, my wife is coming, my daughter-in-law is coming, they will do it, no. Is equal. (Bhutanese woman, 46)

The Lhotshampa gave a range of reasons for this change in traditional roles, for example, because they want to adapt to the new culture and 'fit in':

> Now we, we lost that culture, we lost that thing [traditional gender roles]. In here, the ones who are able to do, they go to work, and now we are completely different here. In Nepal and Bhutan we had that tradition, but when we came here we found is very different here, so the men and women are equally same, so we also try and practise that in our behaviour. (Bhutanese man, 56)

> It has been changed in case of my children, we used to have that culture, women at home, males go outside to work, but here in my family, after we came here, they both do equally, outside work and work at home. The discrimination, the differences, was my husband's house, but for my own house in Bhutan, my brothers, my father, my mother and sisters equally do the household works … so for me it has not changes after I came here. We used to do the same thing in Bhutan. (Bhutanese woman, 54)

Another reason for women going to work was the need to become financially secure, and/or the wish to create enough income to purchase a house:

> You might have found that our people are a little bit different than the other people, because we like to have our own house, actually we like to have our own property to live, rather than living in other property. So even if there used to be traditional thinking, now they're changing their mind. In order to make their own property, both have to work, otherwise they don't have anything to sell here or any property or any asset to earn money to buy the house. So both man and wife need to work, buy the house and buy the good car and all those things. (Bhutanese man, 30)

Some participants stated that Lhotshampa women go to work in Tasmania because the required facilities exist. As families can send their children to good quality childcare providers or schools, it frees the women up to pursue education or employment.

Discussion

Thus, there are three main reasons for this change in traditional roles: first, the women, or families, wish to fit into Australian society. The Lhotshampa recognise it is expected of women to work in Australia, so they also try and implement this change. Second, to increase the family's income so that they can afford a mortgage, which seems to be a driving factor behind many of the Lhotshampa's activities. Last, and maybe most importantly, because it is facilitated. There is opportunity for refugee women to find work in Tasmania, as the state provides the required infrastructure, like affordable childcare, public transport and equal access to education and training. This provides women with opportunities they have not had previously. Some women have embraced this chance to work, not only for financial reasons, but also because it gives them confidence and a sense of achievement.

Young Lhotshampa

Many young Bhutanese seem to embrace living in Tasmania with all it has to offer, and adjust their own lifestyle accordingly. They have Australian peers, they like to go out, eat fast food, frequent night clubs and bars, smoke cigarettes and drink, take drugs, have modern phones and iPads, and wear western-style clothing. Some have lost all interest in the religious traditions of their family. As stated earlier, their parents' reaction ranges from resigned tolerance to total condemnation of this behaviour.

> They all said they're realising they have to tolerate it? Even if they don't like it. Like they were all quite, in a way, open-minded because they had to. (MRC employee)

> Dressing is not that important, the way the girls dress up is not that important. Because comparison Nepal and here, quite different, but comparison to Australian community it's not like how long their hair or their make up or how they look like, you know, we can like … we have to tolerate that. And parents also tolerate that, you know? (Bhutanese man, 24)

> The Australians are different, wearing clothes, eating food, so some of our Bhutanese children, Bhutanese youth try to adopt that, they wear short clothes, they eat the food that the Australians eat, and I'm not happy at all. (Bhutanese man, 56)

> Is their own choice, so I don't have control over them, but I wish they would not wear short clothes, they would not smoke or drink. (Bhutanese woman, 54)

> I know the importance of the cultural thing, but thing is, my parents is still here, they're doing their things and I'm working, you know, I'm just focussing on the work, than the cultural thing? Maybe when I'm 50, 60, I do the cultural thing. (Bhutanese man, 24)

> I can adapt, I can get used to with things very easily, you know? Because I know how Nepalese culture works, and how is the system in Australia, so that's much easier for me like and I can bring good thing from Nepalese culture and good thing from Australian culture. (Bhutanese man, 24)

However, young Lhotshampa do not only adjust on the outside by wearing different style clothing and eating different foods; another break with tradition occurs around marriages/relationships. Marriages were traditionally arranged by parents, and children rarely opposed their parents' wishes, as this would have brought dishonour upon the family. Potential spouses were commonly chosen from the same caste[51]. In Tasmania this tradition has become fragile: as I discussed before, an increasing number of young people choose to marry for love, occasionally inter-caste, and often without the consent of their parents, thereby risking the disapproval of the community and their families. Allegedly, some young couples force their parents to let them get married by spending a night together. Others run away from home and try and live without the support of their families. However, while young Lhotshampa may insist on choosing their own partners, they still follow traditional patterns by getting married within a short time, rather than "trying out" the relationship for some years before tying the knot, as many Australian couples would. Lhotshampa parents differ greatly in their response to their children's behaviour. Some parents, for example, have become more tolerant of inter-caste relationships, as the Lhotshampa community is small and provides only a small pool of potential partners to choose from; others, however, cast their children out of the family home if they disobey their parents' wishes.

The small size of the local community is also the reason why some young men travel to Nepal to find wives, as they cannot find a suitable partner in Tasmania. Others seem to prefer Nepalese wives because the young women in Nepal are said to still value cultural traditions more than their Lhotshampa counterparts in Tasmania.

[51] This is because any potential offspring from a couple of mixed caste would take on the lower caste, due to notions of purity (Nightingale 2011, 155).

> Girls adapt the new culture faster than boys. They pick up so quickly … because in our culture, back in Nepal, it's still there. We feel that the girls who are not obedient to the families, who are not respect their culture, are not accepted in the families. So which I mean is we don't drink at home, we don't smoke, and a lot of the girls I found here in my age group, they are used to these things. And I'm happy with that because they are learning new things, and it's ok to learn, but my mum, my grandparents, they're not happy. Even if I'm married, if I can't make especially my mum happy, then I think that's not the thing I should do. At least my wife should make my mum happy. In our culture we need to take care of our mum, maybe same everyone. So to keep my mum happy also I need to find someone still within the boundary of our culture. (Bhutanese man, 30)

Discussion

Thus, the cultural habits of young Lhotshampa have changed not only in terms of their lifestyle, but also in the way that they are no longer willing to accept arranged marriages; both changes occur frequently without the consent of their parents. The most likely explanation for this phenomenon lies in the young Lhotshampa's exposure to everyday life and customs in Tasmania; as the youths spend significantly more time among Australians than most adult Lhotshampa, due to being integrated in local schools, they are more likely to develop a wish to fit in, and they also learn more about how the host population lives. Additionally, as we have seen, young Lhotshampa are commonly much more capable of navigating Tasmanian society than the older generation, thus they become increasingly independent of their parents' support, which may make them less willing to obey their parents' expectations. The young Lhotshampa's exposure to local customs is potentially also at least partly a cause of the trend towards love marriages as opposed to arranged marriages. Young Lhotshampa recognise that most people in Tasmania choose their own partners, thus they re-evaluate their own traditions, and in some cases reject them; the parents may become more tolerant towards their children's behaviour for the same reason.

Changes in the religious sphere

Adherence to caste rules

The traditionally strict adherence to caste rules has somewhat relaxed among the Lhotshampa in Tasmania: even though Hindus, especially high-caste Hindus, are expected to refrain from drinking alcohol (Nightingale 2011, 159), most families now feel comfortable with drinking small amounts on special occasions. Parents tend to encourage their offspring to have the occasional drink at home with the family rather than in a bar or night club, so the

parents can control the amount and keep their children out of harm's way. Similarly, many families now eat meat regularly, even though they are not supposed to; they refrain from eating beef or pork, but lamb, poultry and fish are acceptable. Where members of the low castes were previously forbidden to enter a high caste family's house, they are now regularly allowed inside. However, the kitchen and prayer room are still taboo, at least in the families I visited. Many elderly Bhutanese seem to hold on to the old beliefs more strictly and treat low caste members still as 'untouchables', which occasionally causes strife in the community. However, being of the Brahmin caste no longer seems to automatically warrant the greatest respect from other community members; in our conversations the Lhotshampa repeatedly expressed their admiration for other Bhutanese who had already secured work or bought a house, independent of their caste, and it seemed to give them a good standing in the community[52]. This made me think that the Bhutanese could now also earn social status and respect through their deeds and/or accumulated wealth, as opposed to just being the birthright of the highest caste, which potentially indicates a shift from traditional patterns of hierarchy and privilege.

> I'm from priest family and I'm not allowed to even eat meat and this and that, but the thing is I'm working and I have to eat it because I have to go like takeaway shop, like McDonalds or KFC, so they know it's like 'how do you work' you know? Don't worry only about cultural thing, it's more about how you end up here in Western country, you know, you will be living here your whole life … so yes, sometimes you have to compromise things, but not everything like, you know? (Bhutanese man, 24)

> Actually that caste system is from the really beginnings, forefathers' time, been following, so actually it's not that important to keep the caste system, but if they keep it [children], that would be lovely. (Bhutanese woman, 29)

> But a few times he came up here [friend of low-caste background], I don't have any problems bringing him in my house but still some of the people, old people, they knew that "oh, he's coming and he's going inside that house", this and that, yeah a bit of fright, community things going on there. But I think it will remain only when the old people who are with us continue, I'm definite it will continue until that time, but maybe from [grandson's] time, when he's in my age, I think it will completely lost. (Bhutanese man, 48)

[52] I suggested this hypothesis to two of the Australian refugee workers, who confirmed it as they had gained the same impression of the Bhutanese community.

Time spent on religious activities

Several Lhotshampa described how they spend less time on religious activities than they did in Nepal or Bhutan, partly because they don't have a temple to perform some of these activities, and partly because they are too busy; they also find it difficult to perform certain religious exercises, like all day fasting, on work days. Apparently, the time spent on religious activities varies greatly from family to family, and probably depends on the age and employment status of the individuals.

> I used to take fasting twice a day [twice a week], and when I start working and I seem too busy, I rid one of that, and only once a week, and these days maybe I'm so busy or I didn't get much time, so I rid everything off. (Bhutanese woman, 29)

The Bhutanese community is also not celebrating as many festivals as previously in Nepal; the community now generally only comes together for the two most important Hindu celebrations, Diwali and Dashain.

Conversions to Christianity

Several people reported that a few Bhutanese families in Launceston, apparently low-caste Hindus, converted to Christianity after arrival in Tasmania; they now attend the local churches regularly and mix with the original congregation and other Bhutanese Christians. These families seem to have embraced Christianity including all its rites and ceremonies; there are no indicators that they still privately worship Hinduism. One of my informants suggested that the reason for the conversion was that the lower caste families did not have their own priest, and the upper caste priest was reluctant to perform services for them. Other people suggested that the conversions occurred so that the respective Lhotshampa would gain access to Christian support networks, or that they wanted to cast off their low-caste status and start anew. Unfortunately I was unable to get access to this group of people, due to not knowing anyone who could have introduced me to them. Thus, I could not confirm the conversions, or the reasons why. However, conversions to Christianity seem to have also occurred in the refugee camps in Nepal (Vang and Trieu 2014, 31) and later among some Bhutanese families in the USA, where Christian charities provide much assistance to newly arrived refugees (Maxym 2010, 6).

Discussion

As we have seen, the adherence to religious customs and norms seems to be weakening in three areas, caste endogamy (as discussed earlier in this chapter), caste segregation, and permitted food and drinks. One of the reasons for the relaxation of caste segregation seems to lie in the small size of the Lhotshampa community: this group is already heterogeneous in that it consists of Hindus, Christians and Buddhists. Thus, if the members of the different Hindu castes chose to retain their previous degree of segregation, it would hardly be possible to maintain a sense of community. Another reason for the gradual weakening of caste boundaries may be that many young Lhotshampa do not attach as much value to caste affiliation as their parents and regularly challenge these traditional ascriptions. This process also occurs in current Nepal; young people enjoy meals together with their lower caste friends and do not worry about being 'polluted' (Nightingale 2011, 159). Additionally, living in a society with different values from their own offers the Lhotshampa new options to gain status independent of caste, such as material wealth, good English proficiency and permanent employment. Members of lower castes may secure a job while Brahmin families still rely on Centrelink benefits, providing the former with a better standing in Australian society. As members of all castes gain equal access to education and employment, the differences between each caste decrease, which may also contribute to the relaxation of caste segregation. A similar development could also be observed in some areas of Nepal. Dalits, who make up the lowest caste in Nepal, are challenging the traditional hierarchy by pursuing education and finding employment in areas that are considered "clean"[53], and thereby rising above their ascribed identities as "dirty" Dalits. As a result, the clean Dalits gain access to areas that are normally reserved for higher castes (ibid., 160).

The rules around food and drink seem to have loosened as a response to resettlement. Many Lhotshampa have voiced that they now live in Australia and need to adjust to Australian society, which would explain why eating small amounts of meat, or drinking alcohol on special occasions is acceptable. Another reason is practicality: the Lhotshampa may not always have easy access to vegetarian food when at work. A similar phenomenon currently occurs in Nepal, however, for different reasons. As Nightingale observed, traditional caste boundaries

[53] Caste affiliation in Nepal is constituted by a variety of qualities, for example the concept of purity. The higher the caste, the cleaner, or purer a person is considered to be, which also explains why Dalits are forbidden from entering the houses of high caste Hindus.

in Nepal are challenged in a range of ways, for example in the way that alcohol is consumed by men across all castes, or meaty snacks are eaten together in bazaars. For some Nepalese people this signifies the collapse of the traditional social order, for others it is a sign of growing equality across castes (ibid., 159).

There seem to be two main factors that cause the Lhotshampa to spend less time on religious activities: On one hand many Lhotshampa now lead a much busier lifestyle than in the refugee camps. The other reason is that the Lhotshampa have no Hindu temple where they can perform religious activities. A study on Bhutanese and Burmese refugees in the USA reported similar outcomes; it describes that Bhutanese refugees in employment struggle to keep up their religious customs, so they get delayed to fit in with the weekends or public holidays, or not maintained at all (Vang and Trieu 2014, 31).

Individuals and the community

As I discussed earlier, several Lhotshampa who had lived in Tasmania for more than five years described the community as having lost some of its previous importance for them. They stated that they are less willing to sacrifice time for community events, and also that they feel less need for support, as they have become more capable of negotiating Tasmania's services by themselves.

> But now most of the people that came here, they are settled, like, they go disco, they go working, they have their own business or something, so nowadays community is less priority, you know what I mean? (Bhutanese man, 24)

> Too busy! Even me these days, I don't get time for my child sometimes, so yeah, it's busy. But I love it, I loved it, busy life. (Bhutanese woman, 29)

> But it depends how you think about the community thing, you know, before was very strong, everyone helping each other and thing, but nowadays it looks like people really don't care, they do just their things. But that's another thing, and other thing is they are more independent, you know? (Bhutanese man, 24)

However, some people also described how the knowledge of having access to a community of fellow Bhutanese nearby gave them a feeling of reassurance and support, even if they rarely had time to meet the other members.

> At least I can feel that at least we still have someone from our community, yeah. Also because of cultural things, the culture here is totally different from our culture, so at least I can feel there's someone. (Bhutanese woman, 29)

Discussion

Prior to migration the Lhotshampa's sense of community was continuously reinforced, as the people lived in close proximity to each other, both in the villages in Bhutan and the refugee camps in Nepal. Socialising in the streets and worship at the local Hindu temple was part of their daily routine; also, the Lhotshampa depended on each other for help and advice, as there were no public services to accommodate the needs of the people. In Tasmania, on the other hand, the Bhutanese are spread across several suburbs and cannot as easily come together to meet. There is no Hindu temple available that could serve as social 'glue' to keep the Lhotshampa feeling connected to each other and to reinforce a sense of community. Additionally, people are often busier now with education and training, and have less time to socialise with their friends. The extended family provides in most cases sufficient social contact, so people do not become too isolated. These developments might indicate a trend among some Lhotshampa towards being more individualistic, and less community-oriented.

Preservation of traditional cultural elements

Having discussed the main acculturative changes in the Lhotshampa community, in what follows I describe what elements of traditional culture the Bhutanese find particularly important to preserve and pass on to their children. The information is based on what the Lhotshampa told me during interviews.

Nepali language

Many Lhotshampa stated that it is important to them that the children born in Tasmania learn to speak Nepali as well as English. A project to establish a Nepali language school for children was initiated but has been postponed due to lack of funding.

> They must learn Nepali language, as well as the English language, English language for their future career, but Nepalese language for their identity, apart from that Hinduism is most important thing, I wish they would continue to embrace Hinduism. I don't want other religion. (Bhutanese woman, 54)

Family organisation/'living-style'

Several Bhutanese emphasised the importance of preserving their 'living-style', or family organisation, even though, or maybe because of the fact that the families are already changing, with women going to work, children going to childcare and grandparents being left alone at home. However, the solidarity among family members, their connectedness,

collaboration and support of each other are elements of Bhutanese family life that haven't changed yet, and I believe that these denote the values the Bhutanese are referring to when they speak about family organisation.

> One really important thing to me is the way we organise our family. Our language. If we manage to keep these two things, then we can say at least for a long time, we can say we come from this place. If we lose our language and the living style, then I think we will be Aussie or something. (Bhutanese man, 48)

Preservation of Hindu affiliation and practices

For many Lhotshampa it is vital to teach their children about Hinduism, while being aware that the coming generation might choose different religious paths. Some are concerned that they cannot confer Hindu rituals and ceremonies appropriately without access to a temple. The community has made a number of attempts to raise the necessary funds to build a temple, but so far internal struggles have prevented progress. Without a temple, Hindu rituals and ceremonies had to be adapted so they could be performed in family homes or hired halls, which is a source of discontent for some.

> Religion, we can practice inside the home, is not big matter, we don't need to be in the field to manage, organise our religion. Save religion depends on the individual, but the language and the living style, there are the two things we are going to lose in … I feel that they are in danger. (Bhutanese man, 48)

> We try to. To stay in our own religion. But it's up to him [child], up to him. We can't force it when he grow up, yeah, and he says "oh I don't like Hindu, I want to go this way, this one, this one", is up to him, we can't force it, yeah. We try to, but yeah. (Bhutanese woman, 46)

> And if there is public temple, so our young people they know what's that. And they go there, you know? And their parents, they tell their children "this is the temple, we are Hindu, and this is our culture." And talk with them like that. (Bhutanese man, 24)

> The most important thing is our Hindu religion. And I want them to retain our Hindu religion, because we are the people within Hindu community. It was transported from generation to generation. (Bhutanese man, 56)

> I don't mind after like, when he's old enough to think about the religion and choose some other religion, I don't mind, I can't stop him doing that, because that's what he wants from his heart. So since then I want to teach him what we, like, what is our culture, or religion, yeah … I'll try my best. Whatever he will be. (Bhutanese woman, 29)

Caste endogamy

The preservation of caste endogamy seems to be important mostly for the more mature Lhotshampa (35+); the majority would prefer it if their children married into the same caste; however, they also appear to some extent resigned to the fact that their children might break with tradition.

Other elements that should be preserved according to individual participants are knowledge of Bhutanese/Nepalese history among young Lhotshampa, respect for elders, respect for religious teachers, and as mentioned earlier, eating traditional foods.

Acculturative inhibitors

While some Bhutanese adapt rapidly to the local society, learn English and find work, others remain completely isolated from the wider community. The following section describes the factors that seem to hinder cultural adjustment of the Lhotshampa in Tasmania. These factors were mentioned repeatedly in conversations with my participants, and while they do not affect the whole community, certain patterns could be established among some subsections, like the elderly, or women. However, as the Lhotshampa are in many ways a heterogeneous community, individual experiences with cultural adjustment differ.

Age, perceived age

Some Bhutanese seem to feel too old to adjust, even though they are just in their late 20s or 30s, and most of the elderly Bhutanese don't feel a need to adapt at all. They seem content to spend the rest of their lives in the circle of their families and not interact much with the Australian community.

Significant cultural distance among older Bhutanese (30+)

Several of the professionals working with the Lhotshampa suggested that the Bhutanese' previous life-style and community organisation may hinder the learning process that is required to adjust to life in Australia to some extent. They were under the impression that many adult and elderly Bhutanese seemed to struggle to develop the initiative needed to cope with the demands of the new life-style, and that they seemed to expect Australians to push them in the right direction. As we have seen in chapter four, the lives of the Lhotshampa in Bhutan were to some extent pre-ordained, with the majority of the population working on family farms like their parents and grandparents before them. Decisions that concerned the

community were made by a group of male elders, marriages were arranged by parents. Both community and family life were regulated and followed traditional patterns, without much room for individual choices. After resettling in Australia, the Bhutanese are suddenly asked to become proactive, they need to learn English, choose vocational training, find work, find housing, communicate with strangers and deal with service providers and government agencies, and some Lhotshampa struggle to meet these varying demands.

> Maybe the cultural issue, and lack of exposure to a new culture, because most of these people they are background where … they were farmers. They used to live in a remote area, their very less social exposure, and only few of the community leaders, who tend to lead the entire community. So they didn't have any, any goals or any ideas how they could drive their life on themselves, so I think there's the main issue. (Nepalese bi-cultural worker)

Reputation

One inhibitor of the women's cultural adjustment seems to be connected to their reputation in the community. Women who appear too forward and "Western" may be condemned by fellow community members, which means that some women feel obliged to conduct themselves in a demurer manner. This indirectly reinforces the preservation of traditional gender roles:

> Their neighbours or their relatives and friends will be indirectly watching them, and the women also have a fear of if she's over-smart to her husband, how the other members of the community are going to think about us, so the respect of the community are invisible, we have supervision also. Might be the reason not to have cultural change, for their perception. (Nepalese bi-cultural worker)

Community size

As the Bhutanese community has grown to a substantial size, newcomers are not forced to interact much with the wider Australian society or deal with service providers and government agencies; newly arrived Bhutanese tend to spend most of their time among other Bhutanese, thus living separated from the rest of society to a large extent.

> Because one of the most common, most important thing for Launceston Bhutanese community is, almost all of them don't really, have not really assimilated into the Australian society. And do not really have a, do not really have idea about how their life would be being an Australian, because they, they really have a different life other than a typical Australian life. (Nepalese bi-cultural worker)

Appearance only

Change in some of the older Bhutanese seems to be restricted to outward appearances rather than an inner embracing of Australian values, while younger Bhutanese seem to adjust both outwardly and on the inside.

> I think the first generation of people … who were over 15 or 20 [when they arrived] will strictly retain their culture, their outlooks … And for the younger generation I believe they will certainly assimilate with the mainstream Australian cultural values. Although some of the older Bhutanese perceive them that they, that their lives have been changed, or they have adopted the new culture, but I don't think it's really obvious in terms of their attitudes and in terms of the invisible parts of the culture. For the visible parts of the culture, like dressing or food, I have found for some of the Bhutanese community have tried to adapt, the Australian way of doing that, but not in terms of the way they perceive what their attitudes and believes. (Nepalese bi-cultural worker)

Acculturative negotiations

After having discussed various areas in which the Lhotshampa culturally adjusted to living in Tasmania, in the following section I examine the different methods in which these cultural changes are negotiated, in line with Kim and Hurh's categories of cultural negotiation, i.e. replacement, addition, blending, attachment and marginalisation (1993, 700-1), as described earlier in chapter three.

Replacement

The only observable form of replacement is the dress-style of many Lhotshampa. While the Lhotshampa youths wear western-style clothing deliberately to be fashionable and to fit in, older Lhotshampa wear it because they can commonly only afford to buy clothes in op-shops or because they received them by donation. However, considering that many Lhotshampa have spent more than a decade in refugee camps, where they would have had little choice in what they wear, it is possible that the Lhotshampa had given up their customs around clothing as soon as they left Bhutan. Thus it is unclear whether the Lhotshampa's choice of clothing is a replacement or an addition.

Addition

There are at least three cultural elements/customs that have been added to the Lhotshampa's repertoire. The first is the English language; most Lhotshampa speak Nepalese as well as English to varying degrees, with exception of young children and the elderly Lhotshampa. The other two are the incorporation of local foods in the daily eating habits of young Lhotshampa,

and the Lhotshampa's participation in local celebrations like Australia day or Christmas. While the Lhotshampa eat fast food and speak English out of practical reasons, the Lhotshampa's participation in local celebrations seems to occur out of a wish to be part of the larger community and because it is enjoyable for everyone.

Blending

Cultural syncretism seems to occur both in terms of marriage customs and family organisation. Young Lhotshampa increasingly aim to choose their own partners, which is in line with local cultural norms; however, they also retain part of their own traditions by getting married at a young age instead of forming relationships and "testing" the waters first. Another form of syncretism can be observed in the way that families organise their households. While some Lhotshampa women now choose to improve their education and find work like many Australian women, they stick to tradition by living with their husband's families and looking after their husband's parents.

Attachment

As discussed above, there are certain cultural traditions or elements that the Lhotshampa feel are important to preserve, such as knowledge of the Nepali language, their family organisation/living-style, their affiliation to Hinduism and regular practice, and finally caste endogamy; however the latter seems to apply mainly to the older Lhotshampa. So far the Lhotshampa have succeeded in keeping these parts of their culture alive, although it is uncertain whether caste endogamy and knowledge of the Nepali language will persist in future, considering how both elements are already weakening among young Lhotshampa.

Marginalisation

The marginalisation of certain traditions can be observed in at least three instances: first, in terms of arranged marriages - as we have seen, more and more young Lhotshampa insist on choosing their own partners, with or without the support of their parents. Second, in terms of caste segregation, as traditional rules around hierarchy and status are reassessed. Third, in the reduced amount of time that is spent on religious activities; however the latter is not necessarily voluntary, and could easily be reverted if the Lhotshampa gained access to a temple.

Inside/outside adjustment

Another method of acculturative negotiation that was not listed in Kim and Hurh's paper but that seems relevant in this context is Berry's theory, which states that the degree of adjustment often differs according to the people's environment. He suggested that more cultural maintenance is undertaken in the private sphere, while more cultural adjustment is displayed in public (Berry 1997, 12). This seems to occur in the Lhotshampa community in Tasmania. Obvious markers of difference like clothing and food have already been adjusted towards a more Australian appearance; however most other elements that are not visible in the public sphere remain the same, like the affiliation to Hinduism or family organisation.

Modification

There is one more method of acculturative adjustment that I would like to add to the list, and that is modification. Modification means that a traditional cultural element is adjusted so that it fits in with the people's changed circumstances. However, it is not a hybrid form of elements of two different cultures, just a reinvented form of a previous element. Among the Lhotshampa we find modification in the way that many people have turned one of their bedrooms into a prayer room, so that they have a place to worship in lieu of a temple. Prayer routines and religious rituals have been adjusted to accommodate the changed location.

Summary: Acculturation

We have seen that there are varied types of acculturative negotiation. Some cultural changes are introduced deliberately, others occur more subtly, and some happen involuntarily because of the changed situation in the new society. Also, the Lhotshampa differ greatly in their individual adjustment. While the younger Lhotshampa tend to add or replace cultural traditions or artefacts easily, the older generation seems more focussed on retaining their culture. This shows that the acculturative adjustment of a refugee community cannot easily be categorised into concepts such as assimilation or integration, but that it is instead a complex process that is influenced by the conditions of the host country, the background of the migrating group, the preferences of each subgroup, and individual choices. Considering this complexity, it is difficult to ascertain what the best approach for policymakers is in terms of acculturative policies. As previously discussed, Bolaffi suggests that active support of cultural difference can lead to the reinforcement of boundaries between a migrant group and the host society, resulting in feelings of isolation of the former (Bolaffi 2003, 184). While this

may be true in some situations, I think it is wrong to assume that it will happen in every migrant group, considering how differently migrant groups approach their resettlement. The best possible outcome is probably achieved in consultation with migrant groups, to find out what matters most to them, and then to decide if and to what extent cultural traditions should be actively supported. Australia's latest multicultural statement describes Australia as "the most successful multicultural society in the world" (DSS 2017, 3), a country that draws its strength from its cultural diversity (ibid., 4). According to this statement one would expect cultural diversity to be encouraged and supported through funding that allows migrant groups to live their culture. However, there is little funding available for multicultural projects in Tasmania, which means that groups like the Lhotshampa struggle to maintain their cultural traditions. This poses the question whether multicultural policy really supports differing cultural identities, or whether the approach is more one of sufferance, whereby difference is tolerated but not actively accommodated.

Part 3 - National identity and belonging

This third and final part describes feelings of national identity and belonging among the Lhotshampa. While the previous parts focussed on the community or sections of the community, the following part revolves around individual concepts of national identity. During fieldwork I asked my participants in what country they felt at home, and what they considered to be their national identity, i.e. whether they saw themselves as Bhutanese, Nepalese or Australian.

Several young Bhutanese stated that they identified more with Nepal than Bhutan, because they were born in Nepal, or raised from a young age, and Nepalese is their first language. Some also emphasised that they still had friends and relatives living there. According to a TasTAFE teacher, almost all young Bhutanese, when asked where they are from, answer "Nepal". They listen to Nepalese music or watch Nepalese or Indian TV programs on their phones. Nepal seems to be the place to which the young Lhotshampa feel emotionally most connected.

> Of course, you know, the place where you grow up, the place where you study, the place where you rise when you are kids, yeah, of course I miss Nepal, I have lots of good and bad memories, so yeah, you know, you miss Nepal. (Bhutanese man, 24)

> Like I was born in Bhutan and I don't know much about Bhutan. I only knew about it from stories … but going to Nepal now, for me is like hometown and my country, you know? Because I know most of the things about Nepal than Bhutan? … and the language I speak is Nepali, so is still, Bhutan is my country, but … the feeling is for Nepal, yeah. But is still, my nationality is always Bhutanese. No matter what. No matter if we speak Bhutanese language or not. Whenever people ask me "where are you from?" "Bhutan." I'm Australian now, you know, I've got Australian in my nationality, that makes me Australian, but still I say I'm Bhutanese, you know, I don't want to end up, you know? (Bhutanese man, 24)

> Actually I was very little when I left Bhutan, and my mum and dad they still have some memories at Bhutan, so I, I feel proud calling that originally I'm from Bhutan, but I don't have that much strong feeling about Bhutan, I spent much of my childhood or my memorable moments in camp in Nepal. So I feel happy about Nepal, that at least, I get, and when I come here I feel like I got a citizenship from Australia, so that makes me feel more proud, at least I can say I'm citizen of somewhere. So, a bit of everything, I think. (Bhutanese woman, 29)

Even though many young Lhotshampa identified with Nepal, some of them also took pride in being originally from Bhutan, a notion that was never expressed to me by the older generations. These young Lhotshampa described how they had seen photos of the beautiful landscape, and how Bhutan had invented the happiness index, and seemed to feel proud being from Bhutan, even though most had no memory of the kingdom and had never visited it personally. These young Lhotshampa described Bhutan as their 'motherland', a place full of natural beauty, almost like a Shangri-La.

> A few of my friends they went to Nepal, like Bhutan is like motherland, is always precious for you, you know? Going there, you just want to know what it looks like? So some people they went there and they say me good stories about Bhutan, is very beautiful and is with lots of mountains, and lots of big, big monarchy [monastery], you know, so that makes it special as well. Like saying and talking good thing about Bhutan is always very good. (Bhutanese man, 24)

Among the more mature Lhotshampa concepts of national identity vary from individual to individual. Some thought that they should try to adapt to "Australian" culture, to better fit in, with Australia being their new country of residence:

> In Nepal I was Nepalese, and after I came here I should try and adapt with the environment here, with the language here, the way I used to practice in Nepal cannot work here, so I should try to adapt to the environment here. (Bhutanese man, 56)

> I start living in Australia so I thought I must have the Australian feelings, but sometimes I'm not. (Bhutanese woman, 29)

Other Lhotshampa stated that they didn't feel any change in themselves, as they were still Hindu, and their families were still with them. Family and religious affiliation seemed to be important identity markers for these Bhutanese. Some also described how their identity had changed, when they became citizens of Australia, and thought of themselves as Bhutanese-Australian, or Bhutanese-Nepali-Australian.

> I'm originally from Bhutan, so I'm Bhutan, but I speak Nepali, so I'm Nepali, now I'm Australian, so I'm a bit of everything. (Bhutanese woman, 42)

> I feel Australian now. I don't feel Bhutanese, no. I have citizen, I have home, yeah everything I feel like Australian, yes … so I'm Bhutanese-Australian. (Bhutanese woman, 46)

Overall the adult Bhutanese did not seem to identify strongly with one country. Most people appeared uncertain about what nation they felt they belonged to; they generally seemed to identify with all three countries of previous and current residence (Bhutan, Nepal and Australia) to varying degrees.

Discussion

When enquiring about feelings of national identity, we have seen that the responses of the Lhotshampa who were 40 years of age or older differed significantly from those under 40 years of age. In both groups the people's sense of belonging, i.e. the place they considered home, also often differed from their sense of national identity.

The young Lhotshampa seem to feel emotionally connected to Nepal, because this is where they grew up and where they often still have family and friends. Sunita Basnet's study examining feelings of home among Lhotshampa refugees in New Zealand describes similar results; the participants in her study connected feelings of belonging i.a. to having friends or close neighbours in a place (Basnet 2016, 12). However, the responses to questions of national identity were not as homogeneous. As we heard, some young Lhotshampa think of themselves as Nepalese, due to the above reasons, while others state that they are Bhutanese[54]; it is not clear what has caused this admiration for Bhutan. One possible reason is that most Lhotshampa parents would have wished to be allowed to return to Bhutan while

[54] I would like to emphasise that neither group thought of themselves as only Bhutanese or Nepalese, and it needs to be assumed that these identities are subject to change, depending on developments in individuals' lives, and what seems most important at the time.

they were spending time in the refugee camps, potentially instilling in their children the idea that Bhutan is a great place to live. Many Lhotshampa seem to think that the events of the 1990s were caused by the political views of King Singye Dorji Wangchuck, and that the attitude towards the Lhotshampa changed after his son ascended the throne. This has possibly led to the restoration of Bhutan in the imagination of young Lhotshampa. Another potential reason for the young Lhotshampa's admiration of Bhutan is that they have caught on the often glorified imagery of Australians or other Westerners in regards to this country. As the Lhotshampa notice that being from Bhutan raises curiosity and admiration in the Tasmanian population, they feel proud to be Bhutanese, and their perception of Bhutan becomes more idealised.

The above indicates that the young Lhotshampa feel emotionally connected to Nepal and mostly consider themselves Nepalese, but that they also have a separate identity to fall back on, which is Bhutanese. While their Nepalese identity is built around real emotional connections and memories, their Bhutanese identity seems to be built around an imagined community in Benedict Anderson's sense of the concept, originating from their parents' descriptions of Bhutan, the reactions of the Tasmanian population, as well as the depictions of this kingdom in modern media (Anderson 2006 [1983], 5-6, 31). It would be interesting to conduct another study that explores under what circumstances young Lhotshampa choose a Bhutanese identity.

Colleen Ward found in her study on identity building in migrant youth that young migrants either chose to forge hybrid identities that were made up of elements of both cultures, or that they had internalised separate repertoires of cultural elements, which they utilised alternatingly depending on their immediate environment (Ward 2013, 393-4). The migrant youths seemed to behave more traditionally when at home among co-cultural members, but displayed 'new' behaviours when in public (ibid., 397). When transferred to the context of this study, it is possible to imagine that young Lhotshampa choose their Bhutanese and Australian identities when they spend time among Australians, and revert to their Nepalese identity when they are among other Lhotshampa. In addition to that, we have seen that young Lhotshampa have also started integrating Australian values and cultural items in their personal lives, such as choosing their own partners, and wearing western clothing. The result

is a heterogeneous variety of bi-cultural or even tri-cultural identities among young Lhotshampa.

In contrast to this, the Lhotshampa who were 40 years of age or older all stated that they felt emotionally connected to Bhutan, and thought of Bhutan as their home, due to having grown up there. Basnet's study on Lhotshampa refugees in New Zealand yielded similar results, although she did not differentiate between age groups. Some participants of her study felt most at home in Nepal, others in Bhutan or even New Zealand (Basnet 2016, 12-5), indicating that heterogeneous feelings of belonging are a common phenomenon among Lhotshampa refugees.

As we have seen, the older Lhotshampa's responses also varied with regard to their national identity, indicating that the older Lhotshampa do not necessarily feel that their national identity is determined by their home country, or the place they feel most connected to, but that it can also be determined by their citizenship, the language they speak, or their place of residence. Thus, their national identities seem to hybrid identities, based on a range of heterogeneous elements from different cultures, similarly to those of the young Lhotshampa.

As I discussed in chapter three, postmodern academics conceptualise people's identities as fragmented, in transition, and the result of their immediate socio-political, economic and cultural environment (Bolaffi 2003, 142, Hall and du Gay 1996, 4). This could clearly be observed among the Lhotshampa community, as its members have internalised a variety of combinations of Nepalese, Bhutanese and Australian cultural elements, and think of themselves as 'hyphenated' personalities. Their identities also appear similar in their makeup to the Caribbean people in Stuart Hall's description, who had internalised 'presences' from three different cultures (African, American and European) (Hall 1990, 230). Finally, Spencer and Taylor state that people continually assess themselves in relation to others and frequently adjust their identities to present an image of oneself that one wants others to perceive (Spencer and Taylor 2004, 4). This could also be observed in some of the young Lhotshampa who present themselves as Bhutanese, because they feel that being Bhutanese is special in the eyes of others.

Another interesting phenomenon that could be observed among the older group of Lhotshampa was that their concept of national identity was often not only heterogeneous,

but also did not seem to be a feature of their identity that they considered to be particularly important. When asked about their national identity, people often hesitated, and contemplated the question before responding, which made me think that they hadn't considered this question before. Also, I never gained the impression that the Bhutanese were concerned about losing their national identity; no particular efforts seemed to be made to maintain connections to Bhutan or Nepal, apart from the occasional visit to relatives, when the finances allowed it. There seemed to be hardly any involvement in Nepalese or Bhutanese politics, nor any economic connections to those countries. Most of the older Lhotshampa were adamant that they did not want to return to live in Bhutan or Nepal. They were also not concerned that their children became Australians, as long as they remained Hindus. Also, the way that people described their national identity as Bhutanese-Nepali-Australian, or any combination of these elements, further strengthened my hypothesis that being Bhutanese or Nepalese did not play an important part in the people's conceptions of themselves.

There is a range of reasons that may explain this phenomenon. First, the fact that the Lhotshampa have always had more than one national identity. As immigrants from Nepal, the Lhotshampa never became fully integrated into Bhutanese society, especially because their cultural traditions and belief system differed significantly from that of the Drukpa population. While living on Bhutanese soil, the Lhotshampa remained culturally Nepalese in many ways. Second, the Lhotshampa have lived their lives in three countries. Most of the older Lhotshampa spent their youth and early adulthood in Bhutan, then lived in refugee camps in Nepal for 15 to 20 years, before migrating to Australia and starting anew once more, this time with the knowledge that they were going to stay indefinitely. This may explain why the Lhotshampa's feelings of national belonging are varied and not strongly connected to one country only. Last, I suggest that the Lhotshampa do not feel strongly about being Bhutanese or Nepalese because they have another marker of identity, namely being Hindu, which takes priority. Throughout their history of dispersal, the Lhotshampa have always stayed true to their religion, while many other things changed, like their national affiliation, or their lifestyle. Being Hindu is what is most important for the majority of Lhotshampa in the community. This also explains why the lack of a temple is the Lhotshampa's greatest concern in terms of their resettlement, not only for themselves, but because the Lhotshampa hope to pass on their religious traditions to their children. The Lhotshampa fear that without a temple they will not

be able to show their children the 'lived' experience of Hinduism, which might result in a loss of interest in the next generation. Another cultural element that was mentioned in connection to a loss of identity was the Nepali language. Many Lhotshampa parents are concerned that the children who are born in Australia will not learn to speak Nepali. As Nepali has always been the Lhotshampa's first language, it is an integral element of the Lhotshampa's identity, similarly to Hinduism. While the Lhotshampa also fear the loss of certain other cultural elements such as their food culture, Hinduism and the Nepali language seemed to be the most important components of Lhotshampa identity.

Summary: Notions of identity

Considering what we have learned about the older Lhotshampa, it seems that a group's identity will under certain circumstances not be based on its geographical origins, but on cultural elements, such as religion and language. As such, I suggest that being Hindu and speaking Nepali constitute the main markers of the Lhotshampa's 'master-identity' in Stuart Hall's sense of the concept. Hall suggested that a group's master-identity can be based on any shared marker, such as ethnic background, religion and language. The master-identity unites the group, even if it consists of a wide range of heterogeneous subgroups (Hall 1992, 280). This seems to also apply to the Lhotshampa. Even when we just consider the Hindu proportion of the Lhotshampa community, there are significant divisions by age, caste and education level, that might threaten the community's cohesion. It makes sense that in a context of ongoing displacement, as it is the case for refugees, a group's national identity is rearticulated as cultural identity, which means that it is based on cultural identity markers such as religion, where such elements are available from the migrants' cultural background. This is also in line with Gupta and Ferguson's (1992, 16) argument that states that identity markers are chosen in relation to a group's history and socio-cultural make-up. While some minorities may be forcibly expelled from their countries of origin and form diasporas that are articulated around the idea of a common homeland (ibid., 11), such as the African diaspora in the USA (Cohen 2008, 41), other groups choose to articulate their identity around a shared religion, such as the Jewish (ibid., 20). Naturally, in either scenario both religion (where applicable) and national belonging will to some extent be present, however, for some groups religious affiliation seems to supersede national identity. There is a range of potential scenarios that would explain why religion, or other main markers of identity, become more important than

national identity for a group: First, in a situation where a group has undergone continuous displacement for several generations, the members may struggle to maintain a strong notion of national identity to their country of origin; second, in a context where a group's religious affiliation has traditionally been more strongly culturally engrained than its national identity; third, in situations where a group chooses to utilise religion to create boundaries to the host society, in order to maintain the community; and last, in those cases where the events that led to the displacement were traumatic, and the government of the country of origin continues to be hostile towards the displaced group, the group may feel a wish to forge a new identity that is not connected to the homeland, in order to be able to forget the displacement.

The question remains whether the Lhotshampa's identity is an ethnic or a cultural identity. As discussed in chapter three, ethnic identity can be seen as the mobilisation of cultural difference. Certain identity markers that distinguish a group from other groups are mobilised to create boundaries. This 'othering' is conducted with the aim of staying apart, of keeping outsiders out, and insiders in the group. If, however, cultural differences exist, but they are not mobilised to create boundaries between one's group and other groups, we speak of cultural identity. The Lhotshampa fear losing their cultural identity and aim to preserve certain elements in particular. However, the purpose behind the preservation does not seem to be the articulation of difference, but the fear of identity loss, the fear of unbecoming who they are. This means that the Lhotshampa are a cultural group constituted by a cultural identity, and not an ethnic group aiming to create boundaries.

Chapter 7 - Conclusion

In this study I aimed to add to existing knowledge in the areas of refugee resettlement and acculturation, by conducting an ethnographic case-study of the Lhotshampa in Tasmania. The purpose was to increase our understanding of the challenges of resettlement and cultural adjustment of refugees in Tasmania, in order to raise awareness and improve current services and procedures, not only for the Lhotshampa, but also for other refugee groups. Thus, one of my objectives was to investigate what challenges are faced by refugees while they resettle in western nation-states like Australia and what the main factors are that influence resettlement outcomes. We have seen that there are certain areas of resettlement where the Lhotshampa experience difficulties such as in gaining employment, learning English, or navigating family conflicts due to acculturation. However, the results also showed that resettlement outcomes are not easily predictable, as they depend on a range of factors such as a host country's acculturative policy and available service provision, but also the pre-migration history and socio-cultural makeup of the refugee group, and the individual agency of refugees. While certain policies work well for some refugee groups, other groups struggle due to their different backgrounds or because they are trying to achieve different things.

What we can learn from this is that resettlement policies need to be developed in collaboration with refugee communities and at the same time be adaptable enough to respond to each group's particular needs. As discussed, the current approach towards integration is that of a two-way process between host and migrants, where both parties work together to formulate an appropriate integration strategy, and indicators of successful integration are developed in relation to that strategy, rather than being assessed against a set of absolute parameters. However, it is also important that, in addition to the above, policymakers and service providers conduct thorough research into each refugee group, to gain an overview of potential risk factors and culture-specific challenges of that particular group. Thus, when transferred to a refugee context, I suggest that the following procedures should be included in an integrative approach: Initially a thorough assessment of the refugee community, establishing its history and socio-cultural setup, as well as potential physical and mental health issues of its members, their educational background, their employment history and marketable skills, their religious affiliation and their family organisation, in order to establish what facilities and services are needed for this particular group. An integrative

approach should also entail ongoing discussions with the community, or community representatives; this will ensure that new resettlement issues can be addressed when they appear, and that refugees can have their say and help shape their resettlement experiences. Finally, indicators of successful integration/resettlement goals need to be developed in collaboration with refugees, to ensure that they are both worthwhile and achievable for refugees in order to prevent unnecessary frustration and acculturative stress. An inclusion of these procedures into current resettlement policies would help facilitate the development of culturally appropriate and needs-based service provisions for refugees.

Regarding resettlement policies in the Tasmanian context, I have demonstrated that the current system works sufficiently to meet the most basic needs of refugees; however, certain areas still need to be improved. The following suggestions identify the main areas where improvement is needed, however, more research needs be undertaken, ideally in collaboration with the respective government departments, to develop the best strategies to implement these improvements.

Suggestions for improvement

Education/English

The higher the English proficiency, the higher the chances of refugees finding employment, creating social networks, and navigating the Australian system successfully. We have seen that both Tasmanian programs teaching English to refugees - AMEP and YMEP - need reviewing. AMEP requires additional interpreters for the lower level English classes, and potentially more focus on workplace and conversational English, while YMEP needs a curriculum that is more tailored to the needs of young refugees. Additionally, there is need for an inquiry into whether the integrative policy that places refugee children in classes according to age and not to skill level is effective. For the older Lhotshampa who seem not to gain much benefit from English lessons, it might be worthwhile exploring alternative approaches to English language education. Some Lhotshampa improved their English proficiency by watching YouTube videos and TV. It might therefore be worth considering how media devices could be integrated into a learning program that can be accessed from home by refugees who struggle with a classroom environment, especially as the majority of families have both a TV and a computer.

Unemployment

Another concern that affects not only the Lhotshampa but also other refugee groups is their high unemployment rate. In terms of the Lhotshampa, an initiative that encourages more farmers to employ groups of refugees might prove beneficial for both sides. Instead of having to hire new groups of backpackers every year to pick their fruit, farmers could rely on the Lhotshampa whose work ethic and farming experience make them valuable employees. The Lhotshampa, on the other hand, get to work in an area that is familiar to them and where their English proficiency does not matter. Another option of creating additional employment would be the training of Lhotshampa in those services that are needed in the community – counsellors, interpreters, age care workers and childcare workers. In addition to AMEP and YMEP, the introduction of education programs aimed at improving the numeracy and literacy skills of refugees might be worth considering, as refugees often lack these skills and struggle in their employment.

Health

The lack of available and suitably trained face-to-face interpreters in medical contexts is another area of concern, thus additional, NAATI accredited, interpreters should be employed by TIS (the national Translating and Interpreting Service), to make their services freely available for institutions. Furthermore, setting up an initiative that promotes the use of interpreters in General Practices is worth considering.

Elderly Lhotshampa

There are currently various concerns regarding elderly Lhotshampa in Tasmania. First, the lack of suitable aged care facilities for elderly Lhotshampa, or mobile nurses who visit Lhotshampa in their homes. This could be addressed by training and employing Bhutanese community members in both aged care facilities or as mobile nurses, improving both the care situation and creating more employment for community members.

Second, the high level of isolation and boredom among elderly Lhotshampa should be addressed, for example by developing culturally appropriate events that foster social inclusion of Lhotshampa seniors. This would increase both the interactions of the elderly Lhotshampa with the Australian people, as well as improve the elderlies' English, potentially providing them with the confidence to participate more in the society.

Racism

As the Lhotshampa were reluctant to talk about their experiences with racism, I am hesitant to make suggestions on how to improve the current situation. An additional inquiry that focuses on racist attitudes in Tasmania would be useful to examine the causes of racism and the areas where it occurs, so a more targeted approach can be developed.

Family affairs

In terms of community-internal conflicts like intergenerational conflicts, family violence, or caste-related conflicts my recommendation is to ensure there are sufficient culturally appropriate counselling services and support structures available. The MRC and the Phoenix centre in Tasmania already deliver counselling services, but several employees suggested that additional programs raising awareness among refugee communities, for example teaching refugee women about Australian laws regarding violence and abuse, and available services for victims of violence, would be useful. However, the current funding is insufficient to implement additional programs.

Support for cultural affairs

The Lhotshampa, and possibly other refugee groups as well, are in urgent need of a community hall or centre that they can utilise for their purposes, for example to establish a Nepali language school for Lhotshampa children, for social events, or religious purposes. The Lhotshampa, being a young and not yet fully established refugee community, cannot procure sufficient funding to rent or buy a space large enough for these purposes.

Acculturative changes and hybrid identities

My second objective was to analyse how resettling in a culturally diverse country influences the cultural customs of refugee groups and what role refugees play in these acculturative negotiations. We have seen that currently several acculturative changes occur in the Lhotshampa community, such as the role of women in the family, and marriage customs, but also the way people dress and the food they eat. However, while certain changes can be observed across whole sections of the community, the extent to which they take place varies significantly among individuals and families. As we have seen, variations are also found in the way these acculturative changes are negotiated; while some cultural elements are replaced, in other areas they are added or modified; and while some changes occur slowly and subtly, other adjustments are chosen deliberately and immediately. This shows that the

acculturation of refugee communities is an ongoing multi-faceted process that is influenced not only by the conditions of the host society and the background of the refugee community, but also by individual agency, confirming Berry's theories on acculturation that I discussed earlier.

Considering how complex and heterogeneous acculturative processes are, and how individuals negotiate these processes in widely differing ways, it is questionable whether policymakers can articulate acculturative policies that are consistently beneficial for refugee communities. For example, some of the articles I discussed earlier suggest that a strong community or religious life can lead to feelings of separation or isolation of refugees, and therefore to acculturative stress. While this may be true for some people, it became apparent in this study that not being able to worship due to a lack of facilities also causes distress among some refugees, and can weaken the community's cohesion. Another example of diverse outcomes relates to the common practice of 'clustering' refugees in certain urban areas: Clustering promotes a strong community network, which, while offering support and opportunities to its members, can also lead to some refugees' non-participation in the host society; while this can cause acculturative stress and isolation among some refugees, others are content to stay inside their community and do not experience stress or isolation.

Diverse outcomes like these place policymakers in a difficult situation, as they cannot ascertain that the procedures that worked for one refugee group will also be successful for others. I think the best strategy to avoid this dilemma – similar to what I suggested in solutions to resettlement challenges – is to conduct in-depth research into new refugee groups and develop acculturative policies in consultation with these groups to find out what socio-cultural needs exist and how important they are to the wellbeing of the people.

Another question that is difficult to answer is whether cultural difference should be actively promoted. As I described earlier, Bolaffi argues that such support can lead to feelings of isolation among refugees, however, this study showed that a lack of support can also have a negative impact on their wellbeing. Thus it seems best to choose a combined approach: on one hand policymakers and service providers should investigate and address a refugee community's cultural needs, while at the same time counterbalancing potential feelings of isolation or estrangement from the host society by implementing programs that foster social inclusion into the host society. However, as Australia's current budget for multicultural

purposes is slim, meeting the refugees' needs may not always be possible. In this situation I suggest that the available funding is allocated in consultation with the refugees, so that it can be spent on areas that benefit refugees the most.

As part of the acculturative changes among the Lhotshampa I also aimed to investigate how the Lhotshampa's history of migration impacted on individual feelings of identity and belonging. I have shown that feelings of identity and belonging are highly subjective and formed by people's conceptions of who they think they are, who they want to be, and who they perceive they ought to be. This, in combination with a history of dispersal, has resulted in a community where people identify with three different countries, affiliate with three different religions and differ in a range of other areas as well. Considering this, the question arises how the Lhotshampa maintain a sense of community. As I have established earlier, the Lhotshampa do not mobilise their cultural difference to create boundaries to the host society; their sense of community does not seem to be created by processes of exclusion. Neither is their sense of community based on an 'imagined community' in Anderson's sense of the term[55]. The Lhotshampa community seems to be based on real social connections to fellow community members, extended family networks and their shared experiences, while the community's identity seems to revolve around what the Lhotshampa have in common: their language, their shared history of dispersal and resettlement, and the fact that the majority is Hindu, thereby reaffirming Amit and Rapport's argument that communities are based on the emotional connections between people that arise from shared experiences rather than their differences.

Another question arising from the large degree of cultural diversity among the Lhotshampa is the applicability of labels such as 'the Lhotshampa', 'Bhutanese refugee community', or 'Bhutanese culture'. Naturally there is a need for service providers, policymakers or researchers to put a name on this group of newly arrived refugees, for practical reasons; however, I think it is important to keep in mind the large degree of heterogeneous sections, subsections and individuals that constitute the Lhotshampa when creating resettlement policies.

[55] The exception to the rule are the young Lhotshampa who choose a Bhutanese identity due to the positive imagery this kingdom so successfully promotes, as I discussed earlier. Being Bhutanese in this sense is being part of an imagined community.

Generalisation of results

My third and final objective was to find underlying structures or patterns of resettlement and acculturative processes in this case-study that would also apply to refugee communities elsewhere. We have seen that there is a range of similarities in the resettlement experiences of Lhotshampa in the USA and Australia. In both places, the Lhotshampa have difficulties securing employment, and the people who have found jobs commonly work in low status, low income positions; however, in both locations the Lhotshampa do not seem to struggle significantly with the situation, most likely due to the low expectations that they had prior to resettlement. In Norway, on the other hand, it appears that the majority of Lhotshampa of working age have found employment, even though they would have had no prior knowledge of the language. It would be worth investigating how Norway facilitated the inclusion of Lhotshampa in the workplace, and whether a similar model could be utilised in Australia. Another phenomenon that occurred both in the US and Australia is the change of women's roles, from housewives to working women, and the subsequent adjustment of family organisation to cope with the changed situation. Additionally, we have seen that this change of women's roles – in combination with other factors - can sometimes result in an increase of domestic violence not only among the Lhotshampa, but also among refugees from other cultural communities, indicating the need for further research to implement strategies that address this issue. Furthermore, young Lhotshampa seem to undergo similar struggles in Australia, Norway or the USA: they have difficulties negotiating their wish of fitting in to the new society with the often more traditional expectations of their parents. It would be worth researching how the experiences of young Lhotshampa compared with those of other refugee groups in western countries in order to find out whether they struggle for the same reasons, and what strategies service providers could employ to lend assistance.

At the beginning of this research project I was expecting to find underlying structures or patterns that would apply to all refugee communities worldwide; however, reaching the end of this journey I realise that there can be no such pattern, as refugee communities are too complex in themselves, their history, their socio-cultural makeup, and their relationship to others to find rules that would apply to all. This implies that there can be no royal road – in terms of policy - to successful resettlement for all refugee groups. Having said this, there is a range of key factors that seem to play an important role in the resettlement process and

should be taken into consideration in the development of resettlement policies for any refugee group. These key factors are the refugees' previous education and literacy, their proficiency in the host country's national language, their religious affiliation, their employment history and marketable skills, their family organisation, their socio-cultural organisation, their potential and/or past experiences of violence and/or trauma, potential mental and physical health issues, their length of stay in refugee camps, and their resettlement expectations and goals. Policymakers should consider taking these factors into account when writing procedures for new refugee groups, and, as was suggested before, should also collaborate with the refugees to find out what expectations and aims they have for their resettlement.

Apart from the above objectives, this study was designed to add to existing knowledge of the Lhotshampa as a cultural group. While it was difficult to collect demographic data on the Lhotshampa in Australia, therefore leaving a gap to be filled, I have provided a detailed account of the Lhotshampa's history from their arrival in Bhutan up to their dispersal in the 1990s, their protracted stay in the refugee camps, their resettlement to third countries around the globe and their new lives in Australia. By conducting this study, I have also provided a broad analysis of the Lhotshampa's resettlement in Tasmania, and the challenging and transformative effect this has had on the Lhotshampa's community. Thus, this study has provided a more detailed account of the Lhotshampa's history and resettlement than other studies so far conducted, and I hope future researchers with an interest in this area will be able to utilise it for their own projects. Having discussed my results and provided some recommendations for policymakers, I also envisage that this study will be useful in the development of future resettlement strategies and procedures, and potentially help alleviate the stresses of resettlement for the next generations of refugees.

Limitations of the research

I addressed the limitations of the research design and methodology in the methodology chapter, which leaves me to detail the gaps in content, more specifically the areas in the Lhotshampa's resettlement that I did not explore during this study. Mental health issues, for example, were not included, on one hand because I did not feel that I had the required pre-existing knowledge of this area, and on the other hand because the Lhotshampa never raised mental health issues as something that affects the community during our interviews, which

may have been due to the social stigma often attached to the people affected. Another area that I did not research is the Lhotshampa children and teenagers under 18 years of age; they experience their own set of challenges such as a lack of education, discrimination in schools, or intergenerational conflicts; their parents, on the other hand, may feel challenged by Australian childrearing practices differing from their own. A third area that was not included in this study – due to a lack of access - were the resettlement experiences of Christian and Buddhist Lhotshampa. It would have been interesting to see how far their experiences differ from those of the Hindu Lhotshampa, especially in the case of the Christian Lhotshampa who gained access to local church communities and their support networks straight after arrival. Finally, I did not explore the Lhotshampa's experiences in accessing services and dealing with service providers such as Centrelink or employment agencies. As this seems to be an area of concern for other refugee communities, an additional enquiry into this area would complement existing data.

Another significant gap in our current knowledge is the lack of demographic data for the Lhotshampa. The latest census of 2016 does not provide reliable data, as it does not contain a category for the Lhotshampa; in all surveys the overall amount of Lhotshampa is split into those who were born in Bhutan and those who were born in Nepal, and both subgroups are added to other Bhutan-born or Nepal-born people. Thus there is no accurate quantitative data on the Lhotshampa in Australia publicly available. Another difficulty in obtaining demographic data is the high degree of illiteracy among the Lhotshampa. The fact that many people are not able to fill out paper or online questionnaires makes it very difficult to conduct large-scale surveys, and this impedes the possibility of conducting quantitative research of the community as a whole.

Recommendations for future work

While there are many possibilities for future research relating to refugee resettlement or the Lhotshampa, the following suggestions are responses to the gaps listed above; they would complement existing data and allow us to gain a more comprehensive picture of the Lhotshampa's resettlement.

A range of studies have already been conducted on mental health issues and trauma among the Lhotshampa, and a few isolated studies examine the role of mental health in connection

to resettlement experiences or socio-cultural factors like caste[56]; however, it would be useful to embed these studies in a larger framework exploring the impact of mental health issues on different areas of resettlement, such as employment and education, or acculturative adjustment, in order to gain a comprehensive picture of the long-term effects of mental health issues among resettled refugees.

Another worthwhile research project would examine the resettlement experiences of Lhotshampa children and teenagers under 18 years of age. Hardly any data exists so far on the experiences of young Bhutanese in resettlement, even though they are facing a range of significant challenges, such as the loss of their homes, the adjustment to a completely new environment, potential discrimination in schools and surroundings and intergenerational conflicts. Lhotshampa parents, on the other hand, must negotiate their traditional concepts of childrearing practices with what is customary in the country of resettlement. A comparison of different childrearing practices and their impact upon young Lhotshampa constitutes another option for enquiry.

A third area worth exploring is the role of religion in the resettlement of the Lhotshampa. The Lhotshampa are a unique community in the way that people affiliate with three different religions, enabling us to observe the influence of specific religious affiliations on the resettlement of the different subgroups first-hand. One would expect that the Christian section of the community experiences the least amount of difficulty during resettlement due to having access to Christian churches, networks and support groups straight after their arrival. It would be interesting to see whether the Christian Lhotshampa find employment more easily, improve their English proficiency more quickly, or experience less acculturative stress than their fellow community members due to being able to affiliate with the local Christian community. Another option would be to examine whether the Hindu Lhotshampa affiliate with the Hindus from the Indian or Nepali communities in Australia and how this influences their relationship with the Lhotshampa community.

[56] See Christina Davey's study (2013) with the title 'The intersection between culture and postpartum mental health: An ethnography of Bhutanese refugee women in Edmonton, AB', Elise J. Nelson's study (2012) named 'Examining the Psychosocial Context of Mental Health: Bhutanese Refugees and Their Story of Resettlement', or Tulsi D. Patel's study (2012): 'Investing in Refugee Health: The Role of Caste Hierarchy on Mental Health Among Bhutanese Refugees'.

My final suggestion for further research is an analysis of the different strategies that host countries utilise to find employment for refugees such as the Lhotshampa, who experienced a protracted stay in refugee camps and therefore commonly lack job experience or marketable skills. As I discussed earlier, Lhotshampa refugees in Norway seem to be more successful in gaining employment than their counterparts in the USA or Australia, however, no data is yet available on employment rates of Lhotshampa in the other countries of resettlement. A research project examining the connection between various host countries' policies in regard to refugee employment, the host countries' setup as country of resettlement, and the employment rates of Lhotshampa or other refugees might reveal useful strategies to facilitate employment for refugees.

Appendix A - Questionnaire for Lhotshampa participants

General information

- How old are you?
- What is your family status?
- What is your main occupation?
- What year did you arrive in Tasmania?
- What is your religious affiliation?

Resettlement in Tasmania

- Please describe to me your arrival in Tasmania, your feelings and thoughts on your first day.
- Did you come alone or with family?
- How did you feel during your first few months in Tasmania? What did you like, and what did you struggle with?
- Has this changed by now?
- What does a typical day look like for you?
- Do you plan to stay in Tasmania in the future?
- What would you like to improve in your personal life?
- What do you think are the largest difficulties for the Lhotshampa community in Tasmania?
- If you could improve the situation for the Lhotshampa community in Tasmania, what would your suggestions be?

Family

- How many family members do you have in Tasmania?
- What responsibilities do you have in your family?
- Would you say that this is common in the community?
- Have your responsibilities changed since arrival in Tasmania?
- If yes, how do you feel about the changes?
- What about other families in the community, are they undergoing similar changes?
- Is living in Tasmania causing difficulties or arguments in your family?

Social inclusion

- What is your impression of the Tasmanians?
- How do you feel when you are in public among Australian people?
- Can you communicate enough to do the things you need to do?
- Have you experienced any discrimination since arrival in Tasmania?
- Do you engage with people from other migrant communities?
- Have you experienced much loneliness since your arrival in Tasmania?
- How important is it for you to have your community close by?
- Do you spend much time with Bhutanese other than your family members?
- Do you plan to stay in Tasmania in the future?

Cultural life

- Do you feel you can practise your religion freely in Tasmania?
- How often do you perform religious practices?
- Has this changed since you arrived in Tasmania?
- How do you feel about not having a temple?
- How important is it to you that your children be Hindus/Christians/Buddhists as well?
- How do you think the Lhotshampa community has changed culturally since arrival in Tasmania?
- How about your own family?
- How do you feel about these changes?
- What elements of your culture do you find are most important to preserve?

Identity

- Do you have many memories from Bhutan/Nepal?
- What do you miss?
- Do you feel that living in Tasmania has changed you as a person?
- In what ways are Bhutanese people different from Tasmanian people?
- Would you consider yourself Bhutanese, Nepali, or Australian, or possibly a combination of the three?
- In what country do you feel most at home?
- Do you feel more strongly about your national identity or your religious identity?

Appendix B – Questionnaire for Australian participants

- How long have you worked with the Lhotshampa?
- What are your key responsibilities?
- Can you elaborate a bit on your experiences with the Lhotshampa?
- How do you think they are coping with their resettlement in Tasmania, what are the main challenges for them?
- How does the Lhotshampa's resettlement in Tasmania from that of other refugee groups?
- In your opinion, what are the reasons behind this?
- Was there anything that surprised you about them?
- What are the main challenges in your professional environment when working with the Lhotshampa?
- What could be improved in terms of the services your organisation offers, or in general?
- Did you experience any cultural barriers when interacting with the Lhotshampa?
- If yes, what were they, and how did you work around it?

Appendix C – Census 2016, country of birth of person by sex (SA2+): section South Asia

Dataset: Census 2016, Country of Birth of Person by Sex (SA2+)			
State	Australia		
Geography Level	Australia		
Region	Australia		
Census year	2016		
Sex	Persons	Males	Females
Birthplace of Person			
Total	23401892	11546638	11855248
Southern Asia, nfd	419	240	179
Bangladesh	41237	22850	18383
Bhutan	5950	2974	2979
India	455389	245416	209972
Maldives	556	257	294
Nepal	54754	30048	24715
Pakistan	61913	37720	24195
Sri Lanka	109849	57280	52573

Total amount of people born in Bhutan and Nepal in Australia in 2016 (ABS.Stat 2016).

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